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RELATIONS OF LYRIC AND DRAMA IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH)

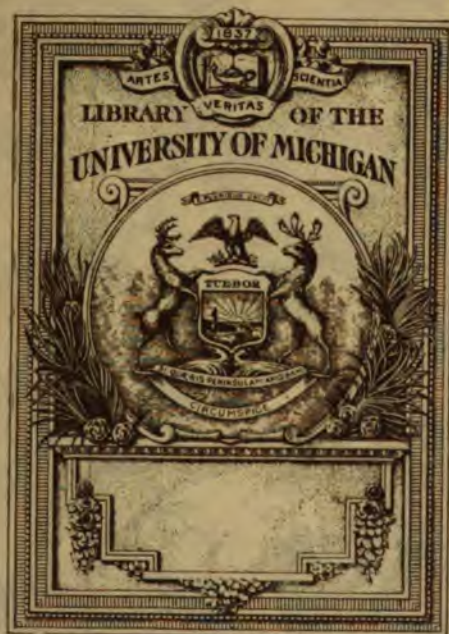
BY

GEORGE C. TAYLOR

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THE ENGLISH "PLANCTUS MARIAE"¹

As early as 1874 Schönbach concluded his work on the German planctus with the words:

Ich habe mit voller absicht mich von der untersuchung der französischen und englischen Marienklagen ferne gehalten, nicht als ob sie mir nicht wichtig genug erschienen und ihre untersuchung nicht lehrreich wäre, einfach deshalb, weil das vorliegende material auch nicht im entferntesten zureicht. es müssen daher die bezüglichen publicationen abgewartet und die lösung dieser für die vergleichende litterargeschichte gewiss bedeutungsvoller aufgabe muss einer späteren zeit vorbehalten werden.²

Since then E. Wechsler has made a study of the Romance planctus.³ It is hoped that the present discussion of the English planctus may in the future help to make more easily possible a comparative study of the planctus as a class. It is, however, not the aim of the present discussion to establish relations between the English planctus and those of other languages, though such correspondences as I have noticed will incidentally be pointed out. Both Schönbach and Wechsler, in their treatment of the planctus in the vulgar tongues, began with the Latin as a starting-point; their work had to do largely with the discovery of the sources of the individual poems. Some work of this kind has already been done in connection with certain of the English planctus.⁴ It is not the purpose of this paper to push forward the investigation along these lines. Nor have I attempted the still more difficult task of determining the relation of the English planctus to the earliest Greek planctus,⁵ though certain peculiar agreements of phrase between it and some of the English planctus entice one to attempt to discover by what indirect and

¹For valuable suggestions and assistance in this study I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor John M. Manly.

²*Die Marienklagen*, p. 52.

³*Die romanischen Marienklagen* (Halle, 1898).

⁴See Planctus Nos. V and VI, pp. 4 and 5, of the present discussion.

⁵See Wechsler, *Die rom. Marienklagen*, pp. 7 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge* (Upsala, 1896), Intro., pp. clii ff.

crooked ways such phrases ever made their entrance into the English poems. The larger and more general question still, the relation of the planctus as a form to the drama as a whole, lies beyond the limits of our study; their relation, as a form, to the contemporaneous¹ English drama naturally finds treatment here. The chief purpose of this study is to discuss the several nondramatic English planctus in their relation to each other, and more especially to ascertain the relationships of these to those portions of the miracle-plays which contain the laments of Mary for Christ.

SECTION I

Before proceeding to the discussion of relations, it seems advisable, in order to aid in some degree the comparative study constantly going on in the field of the planctus, to give a brief description of each of the English poems. They are arranged as nearly as possible in order of date.

A. NON-DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

I. *The Assumption of Our Lady*,² ll. 36-42 (Cambr. Univ. MS G 9. 4. 27. 2).—The lament of Mary is only a brief portion of the narrative, introductory to the *Assumption* legend proper, but its motives³ stamp it as unquestionably belonging to the planctus genre. Among the ME non-dramatic and dramatic planctus it belongs by itself, and is related to the others only in so far as they all go back to a common and as yet undiscovered ultimate source. It is deserving of notice here, chiefly because it is, so far as I have been able to discover, the oldest planctus in English, the *Assumption* dating not later than 1250.⁴ Here-tofore, the long and better-known planctus of *Cursor Mundi*,

¹ For the more general question of the planctus in its relation to the development of the drama, see Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, especially pp. 51 f.; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. I, 221, 239, 241, 242, 347, 350; Wechsler, especially pp. 96 ff.; Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionspiele*, pp. 92 ff.; Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, Vol. I, 58; E. Otto, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, p. 213; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 67 ff.; Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, *Introd.*, pp. cxc ff.; Neil C. Brooks, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 415 ff.; Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 39, 75, 129; for other references see Chambers, Vol. II, p. 39, notes.

² Edited in 1866 by Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, EETS; re-edited in the same publications by G. H. McKnight, 1901. For the same version in the *Cursor Mundi*, and for other versions, see McKnight's edition, *Introd.*, pp. lii, liii.

³ See below, pp. 9 ff.

⁴ McKnight, *Introd.*, p. lvii.

ll. 23945-24658, has been considered the oldest¹ example. The date of this poem Fröhlich sets at "mithin schon ca. 1300."² The *Assumption* planctus is so brief that it may be quoted entire:

Cambr. Univ. MS G 9. 4. 27. 2

"Alas my sone" seide heo
 "Hu may ihc liue? hu may pis beo?
 Hu may ihc al pis soreze iseo?
 Ne cupe ihc neure of soreze nozt,
 Mi leue sone, wat hastu pozt?
 Hu schal ihc lyue bipute pe?
 Leue sone, what seistu me?"

II. *The Sorrows of Mary*³ (Fairfax MS).—Date, about 1300. Though in certain particulars not typical of the class of poems known sometimes as the *Dispute between St. Bernard and Mary*, this planctus must be considered as belonging to that type.⁴

III. "*Stond wel moder under rode*."⁵ (MS Harl. 2253).—Date, about 1307.⁶ The two versions in MS Harl. and Digby vary considerably in arrangement of material. Bøddeker⁷ merely calls attention to two additional stanzas of Harl. not contained in Digby, and concludes from this that Digby must be the earlier version. The regularity, however, of the rhyme scheme in Harl. and the blunders in the rhyme of Digby lead me to conjecture that Digby is based on Harl.

This planctus, though about the most striking of all those in English, seems to have no close and direct relation to any of the later poems, dramatic or non-dramatic. Though not directly affecting the drama, it is to be noticed that it belongs to that form of poetry which, without actually becoming drama, is highly dramatic and is closely akin to the drama as a form—it belongs among

¹ Walter Fröhlich, *De Lamentacione sancte Marie* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 11 ff.

² *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. x.

³ *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 23945-24658, ed. Morris, EETS. For the other MSS of the *Cursor* which contain this planctus, and for the discussion of their relation, dates, etc., see H. Hupe, *Cursor Mundi*, Part VII, pp. 59 ff., EETS.

⁴ See p. 5, n. 1, below.

⁵ MS Harl. 2253, ed. T. Wright, in *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, No. XXVII, Percy Soc., Vol. IV; and in Bøddeker's *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 206. MS Digby 86, ed. in *Anglia*, Vol. II, pp. 253 ff., and in *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II, p. 763, EETS.

⁶ *Spec. Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, Pref., p. 1.

⁷ *Altengl. Dicht.*

the "estриф" or "debat" poems¹ so much in vogue at this date. Planctus Nos. V and VI belong also to this class, but *Stond wel moder* is the most typical representative of the class; in its perfectly regular apportionment of the first three lines of each stanza to Christ and the last three to Mary during the entire dialogue portion of the verse, it adheres more strictly than the other planctus to one of the conventions of the strife poems—the exact and even balance of part against part.²

IV. *The Medytacyun of the Sorrowe that oure Lady had for the wunde in her sone Syde* (MS Harl. 1701).³ Date about 1315–30.⁴ The planctus in the English *Meditations* is to be found in the following portions of the poem: ll. 789–806, 809–18, 829–34, 837–39, 846–50, 835–944, 949–52, 975, 976, 991–1008, 1014, 1015, 1019–32, 1035, 1036, 1039–42, 1047–50, 1059–60, 1073, 1074, 1090–1110, 1115, 1116. There is no definite evidence of relationship between this and the other English planctus in verse. It agrees *closely*, however, with the scattered prose laments of Mary found in the translations of portions of Bonaventura's *Meditations*.⁵ Certain agreements between this prose work and the planctus of the *Hegge Plays* point to the conclusion that either it, or some other translation of the *Meditations*, or the Latin original was in part the source⁶ of the Hegge planctus.

V. *The Dispute between Mary and St. Bernard*.⁷—The date of MS Rawlinson, from which Fröhlich prints, is "die mitte des

¹ *The Debate of the Body and Soul* is perhaps the best-known and most widespread example of the scores of religious poems in ME which took on this conventional form.

² For an interesting parallel see the *Dialogue between the Infant Christ and Mary*, in Balliol MS 354, *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 246, into which many planctus motives have unquestionably worked their way.

³ *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and the Hours of the Passion*, by Bonaventura, drawn into English verse by Robert Manning of Brunne, ed. J. Cowper, EETS, pp. 25 ff. For other English translations and for the relation of the English *Meditations* to the Latin, see Cowper, *Introd.*, p. xii; Boiss-Brahl, *Catalogue of MSS in Brit. Mus.*, pp. 163 ff.; see also *The Privy of the Passion*, ed. Horstmann, Richard Rolle of Hampole, *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff. For the planctus in Bonaventura's works see Wechsaler, *Die rom-Marienklagen*, pp. 14, 27; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, *Introd.*, p. clxiv; and for the entire *Meditationes Vitae Christi* as source of Arnoul Greban's *Passion Play* see Wechsaler, pp. 66–76; for its relation to the Italian *Laud*, *Donna del paradiso*, see the same, pp. 49 ff.

⁴ *Meditations of Bonaventura*, EETS, title-page.

⁵ *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ See below, p. 23 for further discussion of this.

⁷ *De Lamentacione sancte Marie*, Walter Fröhlich, pp. 63 ff. For the discussion of authorship, editions, other English versions and their relation to Latin and French sources,

14. Jahrh's."¹ This planctus bears no close relation to any other planctus except No. VI.²

VI. *Disputation between Mary and the Cross* (Vernon MS).³
—Date, about 1350.⁴

VII. *Christ's Testament or Deed of Feoffment*⁵ (MS Reg. 17, CXVII).—Mary speaks ll. 379–81, 387, 388, 400–412, 424–34. This planctus is especially interesting, as only in this one case does the form make its way into the *Testament of Christ*, of which there are in ME more than a hundred versions of various forms and of various lengths. It illustrates the fact that the planctus has by this time found its way into two independent forms of poetry: first into the *Assumption of Mary*,⁶ and secondly into the *Testament of Christ*. It will not be surprising, therefore, to find that it has made its way also into the drama.

VIII. I. *Filius Regis Mortuus Est*⁷ (Harl. MS 3954).—The date of the MS is 1420.⁸ Refrain: "Filius Regis mortuus

and for versions in other languages, see Fröhlich, pp. 5–36, 54 ff. For the discussion of the Latin and Romance planctus of this type see Wechsler, pp. 17 ff., 23 ff., 35 f., 49 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., pp. elxix ff.

¹Fröhlich, p. 7; for the dates of the other MSS see pp. 7 ff. Fröhlich's discussion of the relations of the versions of the planctus of this particular type in English is in the main correct, but it is in one respect misleading. His statement is as follows: "Zwar haben wir schon in dieser ältesten englischen Marienklage die Form des Dialogs; allerdings noch nicht in der ausgeprägten Form der jüngeren, sondern entsprechend der lateinischen Quelle erstreckt sich der Dialog nur über den Eingang des Gedichtes, indem er hier bloss zur Einleitung ins eigentliche Thema dient: die Passion Christi, welche dann begleitet von den erneuten Schmerzensausbrüchen der Maria von dieser in ununterbrochener Folge vorgebracht wird. . . . Noch ist der Anredende nicht als Person wie später der St. Bernhard eingeführt sondern der Dichter richtet gleichsam von sich aus die Rede an die Jungfrau Maria." The questioning of the imaginary person or writer, as it may be, does not, as Fröhlich suggests, appear only at the beginning of the poem, but continues throughout the entire *Oursor* version, though at less frequent intervals than in the other versions. The speeches of the questioner begin at ll. 23967, 24047, 24215, 24377, 24467, 24581, 24641.

²Wechsler, p. 22, refers to Richard Rolle's "Meditatio de Passione Domini," *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VII, pp. 454 ff., as an English version of the same theme. I see no reason to believe, however, that Mary spoke any portion of Rolle's lament. He is possibly referring to the *Lamentation of our lady* (*Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXIX, pp. 454 ff.). This belongs very evidently to the planctus class.

³*Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Vol. II, pp. 612 ff., EETS. For the same in Royal MS, 18 A 10, see Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, EETS. See Brandl, *Pauls Grundr.*, Vol. II, p. 642, for Latin source. For this type in Latin and Italian see Wechsler, pp. 13, 36. For the relation of the English version to the "mittel-niederländische" version see Holthausen, *Anglia*, Vol. XV, pp. 504 ff., and for the further relation of the English version to the Latin and Provençal versions see Holthausen, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CV, pp. 22 ff: Holthausen seems to be unfamiliar with Wechsler's contributions on this point.

⁴Brandl, *Pauls Grundr.*, Vol. II, p. 642.

⁵*Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II, pp. 650 ff., EETS.

⁶See No. I.

⁷Edited by Furnivall, EETS, *Poët., Relig., and Love Poems*, pp. 204 ff., with a companion-piece bearing the same title; re-edited by him in 1905.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 204.

est," during the first part of the poem. In the latter part it changes to "resurrexit non mortuus est."

IX. *II. Filius Regis Mortuus Est*¹ (MS Lambeth 853).—Date, about 1430. The planctus proper begins with l. 12, and continues throughout the remainder of the poem.

X. *The Lamentation of the Virgin*² (MS Camb., Pub. Lib. Ff. V. 48).—Date, fifteenth century.³ The poem is marked by the refrain: "For now liggus ded my dere son, dere," with slight variations in stanzas 8, 9, 11. This is the best example in English of the elaboration into an independent poem of one of the most conspicuous and most frequently recurring motives⁴ of the general planctus class.

XI. *The Complaynte of the Virgin before the Cross*⁵ (MS Phillipps 8151).—Date, 1413-46.⁶ The poem consists of an elaborate planctus, a monologue by Mary throughout. It is not especially similar to any of the dramatic or non-dramatic planctus. The author very frankly admits that the poem is a translation: "Ceste Complaynte paramont feut translatee au commandement de ma dame de Hereford, que dieu pardoynt!"⁷

XII. *A Lamentation of the Virgin*⁸ (MS Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ff. 11, 38, fol. 47).—The planctus proper begins with stanza 2. The refrain of the first nine stanzas is, "The chylde is dedd that soke my breste;" in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth it is changed to, "The chylde is resyn that soke my breste." The

¹ Furnivall, EETS, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

² *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. II, p. 213. Another version of the same poem in different dialect is printed by Thomas Wright in the notes of the *Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 207, with the following remarks: "The lamentation of Mary is a common subject of English verse in manuscripts of various dates. One or two short examples will be found in the *Reliquiae Antiquae*. The two following, which have not been previously printed, will serve to give a notion of the manner in which this popular subject was treated." There is only one example in *Rel. Ant.* of a short planctus, and that one is the same poem as this, merely another version of it as here edited by Wright. Did he edit the two himself and not notice that they were the same? The only other piece of verse in the *Rel. Ant.* which contains a planctus is the *Burial of Christ*, Vol. II, p. 124. This is not a planctus, but a play containing one.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴ See below, motive No. 12, p. 10. For another example of this tendency to expand one motive into a complete poem, see No. VI.

⁵ *Hoccleve's Minor Poems*, Vol. I, p. 1, EETS. See for the same version with additional stanzas, Vol. III, *Intro.*, pp. xxxvii ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8. See *M. P. of H.*, Vol. III, *Forewords*, p. x, for French sources.

⁸ *Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 204, Shaks. Soc.

spirit and tone of this planctus put it in a class by itself. The first stanza, unlike any part of any of the English poems, is illustrative of its general secular character. It runs:

Lystenyth, lordynges to my tale,
And ye schall here of oon story
Ys bettur than owthyr wyne or ale
That ever was made in thys cuntre;
How Yewys demyd my sone to dye,
Eche oon a dethe to hym they dreeste,
Allas! seyde Mary that ys so fre,
The chylde ys dedd that soke my breste.

The poem could almost be called a religious ballad, and would have taken well if it had been sung in the streets.

XIII. *Nowel, el el etc.*¹ (MS Sloan, No. 2593).—Date, about the time of Henry VI.²

XIV. "*Mary moder, cum and se.*"³—The MS containing this poem is assigned to the latter half of the fifteenth century.⁴ For the most part similar to No. XIII.⁵

XV. *Mary Moder cum and se.*⁶—The date of the Balliol MS is early sixteenth century.⁷ For the most part similar to Nos. XIII, and XIV.

XVI. *C. XXXVIII*⁸ (Fairfax MS Add. 5465, Brit. Mus.).—Written not later than 1490 by Gilbert Banister.⁹ The planctus consists of the sayings of Mary scattered through a poem written to be sung by three persons. The author in a dream sees the scene of the crucifixion and Mary weeping. Mary's words are directed sometimes to the author, sometimes to Christ. Refrain: "My feerful dreame neuyr forgete can I." The poem is very confused and obscure in design if read as a poem and not as a song adapted to singing by three persons.¹⁰

¹ *Christmas Carols*, ed. T. Wright, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, No. VIII; ed. also by him in *Songs and Carols* (printed for the Warton Club, 1856), p. 65.

² *Christmas Carols*, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, p. 4.

³ *Songs and Carols*, No. XXXIII, ed. T. Wright, Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pref., p. 1.

⁵ See below, p. 16.

⁶ "Die Lieder des Balliol MS 354," *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 240.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸ "Die Lieder des Fairfax MS," *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 64.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰ For its similarity to No. XVII in this respect and others, see below, p. 17.

XVII. *Who cannot wepe com lerne of me*¹ (MS O. 9. 38. Trin. Coll. Cambr.). Refrain: "Who cannot wepe com lerne of me." This planctus, like No. XVI, is confused in design, the confusion arising from the fact that, like No. XVI, it was perhaps intended to be sung by more than one person.²

XVIII. *Die Lieder des Balliol MS. 354, No. CII.*³—The date of the Balliol MS is the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴ Refrain:

O! my harte is woo, Mary she sayd so
for to se my dere son dye. And sones haue I no mo.

XIX. *Die Lieder des Balliol MS. 354, No. CIII.*⁵—The greater part of this short poem consists of the writer's lament for Christ. L. 8, however, and perhaps ll. 8-14, belong to Mary.

XX. *Die Lieder des Fairfax MS. C XXXIII.*⁶—Strictly speaking, this is not a planctus, for in it Mary has nothing to say. It contains, however, many details common to the class. If all the speeches of Mary were cut out of Planctus No. V or No. VI, we should have left in each case a poem very similar to this.⁷

B. DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

XXI. *York Plays.*⁸

a) Play No. XXXIV. *Christ Led up to Calvary*, ll. 143 ff., 202 ff.

b) Play No. XXXVI. *The Mortificacio Christi*, ll. 131 ff., 148 ff., 157 ff., 170 ff., 181 ff., 261 ff.

c) Play No. XLIII. *The Ascension*, ll. 179 ff., 202 ff.

¹ *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. 126, EETS.

² See p. 17 for its relation to No. XVI; for its relation to No. XXV see p. 30.

³ *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁶ *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 61.

⁷ The influence of the planctus on poems not belonging to the general type, though difficult to determine with certainty or exactness, would be worth the study. Examples of the influence of the planctus upon poems of a different type are to be found in the dialogues between the *Infant Christ and Mary*, published in *Christmas Carols*, Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII, p. 50; *Songs and Carols* (published for the Warton Club), p. 48; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 247; *The Legend or Life of St. Alexius*, p. 19 (EETS, in same volume as *Be Domes Daeps*). Some of the many laments of sinners scattered through the various collections of ME religious poetry and laments made by characters other than Mary in the miracle plays, contain echoes of the planctus.

The York Mystery Plays, ed. Miss Lucy T. Smith

XXII. *The Towneley Plays*.¹a) Play No. XXII. *The Scourging*, ll. 315 ff.b) Play No. XXIII. *The Crucifixion*, ll. 309 ff., 361 ff., 382 ff., 406 f., 424 f.c) Play No. XXIX. *The Ascension*, ll. 298 ff., 348 ff., 372 ff.XXIII. *The Chester Plays*.²Play No. XVII, *The Crucifixion*, ll. 239 ff., 331 ff.XXIV. *The Hegge Plays*.³a) Play No. XXVIII, *The Betraying of Christ*, p. 286.b) Play No. XXXII, *The Crucifixion of Christ*, pp. 321, 322, 323, 326, 327, 328.c) Play No. XXXIV, *The Burial of Christ*, p. 336.d) Play No. XXXV, *The Resurrection*, pp. 347, 348.XXV. *The Digby Burial of Christ*,⁴ ll. 450 ff., 456 f., 470 ff., 477 ff., 515 ff., 556 ff., 565 ff., 567 ff., 603 ff., 612 ff., 793 ff., 802 ff., 813 ff., 820 ff., 823 ff.

SECTION II

Schönbach,⁵ largely for the purpose of discovering the *Urtypus* of the German *Marienklagen*, begins his discussion of the subject by giving a list of the most common motives in the German planctus, with references to the particular poems in which they occur. It will be convenient to make a somewhat analogous list of the motives of the English planctus, with, however, a far different end in view. The great variety of types present in English, and the fact that the Latin sources so far discovered for certain of them⁶ belong to distinctly different types, make it clear that the search for the *Urtypus* of the English is about the same as the search for that of the Latin planctus as a whole.⁷ The list of

¹ Ed. Pollard, EETS.² Ed. T. Wright, Shaks. Soc., Vol. I.³ *The Coventry Mysteries*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Shaks. Soc., Vol. II.⁴ *The Digby Mysteries*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shaks. Soc., Series VII, Vol. I, p. 171. Ed. also by him in EETS, and by Wright and Halliwell, *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 124 f.⁵ *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 2 ff.⁶ See Nos. V and VI.⁷ That Schönbach should have found in any one Latin planctus the *Urtypus* for the German is, when we consider the number of German planctus (see Schönbach, pp. 1 ff.) little short of miraculous. Wechsler fails to discover such for the Romance planctus as a whole. See his work, pp. 76 f., and 97. For this question see also R. Otto, *M. L. Notes*, Vol. IV, 213.

motives¹ is given here rather with a view to facilitating a comparison of the English planctus each with each; with the added purpose of demonstrating with clearness and certainty the close agreement in general subject-matter of the non-dramatic planctus as a whole with those portions of the miracle-plays in which Mary laments for Christ.

TABLE OF MOTIVES

1. John asks Mary to come and see Christ on the cross: XIII, 1 ff.; XIV, 1 ff.; XV, 1 ff.
2. Mary's narrative of the capture and trial of Christ: II, 24017 ff. V, 145 ff., 185 ff., 200 ff.; XVIII, 5 ff.
3. Allusions by Mary to the child Christ and his early history: VI, 68 ff.; VIII, 13 ff.; XI, 71 ff.; XXV, 690 ff., 718 ff.
4. Mary cries out to Christ about her sorrow and asks him to relieve her: II, 24179 ff.; VIII, 27 ff.; XI, 162 ff.; XII, 90 ff.; XXI (b), 261 ff.; XXII (b), 369 ff.; (c), 298 ff.; XXIII, 61 ff.; XXIV, (page) 322; XXV, 740 ff.
5. The wounds and suffering of Christ: II, 24083 ff.; III, stanzas i, iv, v; VI, stanzas i, ii, iv, v, vi, vii, xxiv, xxv, xxxi; IX, 88 ff.; XI, 127 ff.; XII, stanzas v, vi, viii, ix; XVII, 8 ff.; XXII (b), 909 ff.; XXIII, (page) 61; XXIV, (page) 326; XXV, 662 f.
6. Christ's innocence: VI, stanza iii; XXIV, (pages) 286, 321; XXV, 726 ff.
7. Christ's beauty: II, 24077 ff.; V, 805 ff.; VII, 411 ff.; XXII (b), 323 ff., 361 ff.; XXV, 643 ff.
8. The unthankfulness and unkindness of man to Christ: XI, 227 ff.; XVI, stanza ii; XXV, 709 ff.
9. How her mourning caused Christ his greatest sorrow: II, 24064 ff.; V, 262 ff.
10. Symeon's prophecy of the sword of sorrow which should pierce her heart: II, 24329, 24383; III, stanza ii; VI, 328 ff., 367 ff.; VII, 870 ff.; IX, 16; XI, 50 ff.; XXI (a), 147 ff. (b), 159 ff.; XXIV, (page) 287; XXV, 500 ff.
11. She never knew sorrow before: II, 24365, 24373; III, stanza vii.
12. No mother ever felt such sorrow: IV, 809 ff.; X, stanzas i ff.; XXV, 505 ff.
13. She was Christ's mother, father, brother, etc.: II, 24194 ff.; IV, 997 ff.; VI, 340; IX, 40 ff.

¹ In preparing such a table it seemed best to adopt a principle of division which would include only the most common and frequently occurring motives; in no case is a motive listed which does not occur in at least two different planctus, however frequently it may occur in the Latin, German, or Romance poems.

14. Her sorrow for Christ—general: II, 23999, 24089, 24196, 24346, 24431, 24539; V, 233 ff.; VI, 352 ff.; VIII, 13 ff., 37 ff., 105 ff.; IX, 13 ff.; XI, 78 ff., 37 ff.; XVII, 7 ff., 21 ff., 25 ff.; XVIII, Refrain; XXI (b), 131 ff.; XXII (b), 383 ff.; XXIV (pages), 286, 321, 326, 336; XXV, 450 ff., 470 ff., 478 ff., 520 ff.

15. Allusion to Gabriel: II, 24526 ff.; IX, 45 ff.; XXII (b), 434 ff.; XXV, 490 ff.

16. Allusion to Judas: XII, stanzas ii, iii, iv; XXV, 526 ff.

17. Allusion to the Jews: II, 23996 ff., 24149 ff.; VI, 94, 221, 363; IX, 112 ff.; XII, stanzas v, vi, vii; XIX, stanza iii; XXII (b), 406 ff.; XXV, 648 ff.

18. Her wish to die: II, 24124 ff.; III, stanza iii; V, 313 ff., 333 ff., 345 ff., 632 ff.; VII, 429 ff.; VIII, 31 ff.; IX, 49 ff., 52 ff., 79 ff.; XI, 120 ff.; XV, stanza iv; XXI (b), 157; XXII (b), 424; XXIII, (pages) 61, 64; XXIV, (pages) 321, 323; XXV, 702 ff., 749 ff.

19. Her wish to kiss Christ: II, 24446 ff.; VI, 90 ff.; XXIV, (pages) 327, 336; XXV, 489 ff., 640 ff., 692 ff.

20. Christ comforts Mary: II, 24229 ff.; III, (in the first part of each of the first nine stanzas); V, 435 ff.; 490 ff.; IX, 32 ff.; XIV; XXI (b), 144 ff.; XXII (a), 321, (b), 447 ff.; XXIV, (pages) 323 ff.

21. Mary asks Mary Magdalene to help her: V; VII, 387 ff.

22. Mary asks the women to weep with her:¹ XI, 47 ff.; XXII (b), 395; XXIV, (pages) 347 ff.; general theme of X.

23. Narrative of the taking down of the body: II, 24479 ff.; IV, 560 ff.; XXV, 435 ff.

24. Mary caresses the body: II, 24493 ff.; IV, 625 ff.; XXV, 694 ff.

25. Mary requests that Christ shall not be buried: II, 24551 ff.; IV, 991 ff.; V, 658.

26. Mary refuses to leave the body: II, 24553 ff.; IV, 947 ff.; V, 400 ff.; XXI (b), 181 ff.; XXV, 555 ff., 567 ff., 580 ff., 800 ff.

27. Mary desires to be buried with Christ: II, 24555 ff.; IV, 999 ff.; V, 664 ff.; XXV, 700 ff., 806 ff.

28. Mary refuses to be comforted: XXI (b), 148, 170; XXIV, (pages) 326, 327; XXV, 612 ff.

29. Mary asks, "Where shall I go?": II, 24209; V, 361, 631; VII, 379; IX, 132; XI, 190 ff.; XXI (c), 189; XXV, 751.

30. Mary bids Christ farewell: IV, 1039 ff.; XXV, 826 ff.

31. Mary intrusts herself to John: IV, 1014 ff.; V, 465 ff.; XXI (c), 202 ff.; XXII (c), 372 ff.; XXIV, (page) 327.

32. The signs and wonders at Christ's death: II, 24410 ff.; V, 90 ff.; VI, 374 ff.; VIII, 44 ff.; IX, 124 ff.; XII, (page) 206; XVIII, stanza v.

33. Mary about Christ's resurrection: IV, 1003 ff., 1025 ff.; V, 449 ff., 635 ff.; XII, stanza xii; XXI (c), 179; XXII (c), 347 ff.; XXIV, (page) 348; XXV, 515 ff.

¹ For the liturgical origin of this motive see Wechsler, p. 16.

SECTION III

There remains for consideration the discussion of the more close and intimate relationship, first, of the non-dramatic planctus, each to each, and, secondly, of certain of these to the dramatic planctus, Nos. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV. It is well to bear in mind that in a field of investigation such as this it is very difficult to arrive at very certain and definite conclusions as to relationship. When we consider how common and conventional a form of literature the planctus is in mediaeval literature, and how, owing perhaps to a common remote origin, certain similarities exist even among different planctus which could have had no possible influence upon one another, it is not difficult to understand why one should be exceedingly cautious about asserting direct and intimate relationship of poem to poem. Only in cases, then, where striking similarity both of detail and the expression of it, or similarity in the arrangement of details, is to be observed, are we at all justified in conjecturing a case of direct relationship. Even in such instances we have still to be uncertain of the exact relationship, since it is impossible, with our present knowledge of the subject, to say what Latin or French planctus as yet undiscovered may explain the agreements, or what other English planctus still unedited may stand as the intermediate step or steps between those planctus apparently most closely related.

A. RELATIONS OF CERTAIN OF THE NON-DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

Nos. V and VII.—Lines 345–400 of V agree closely in substance, and occasionally in phrase and rhyme, with VII. The version of VII, however, found in the Vernon MS¹ agrees far more closely with V than does that found in MS Rawlinson² edited by Fröhlich, and more closely also than does that of MS Tiber. E. VII.³ The other versions of V are not accessible to me, but the agreements between VII and the Vernon version are of such nature as to indicate that there is a very close and intimate relation between the two. I quote the parallel passages from Vernon and VII side by side:

¹ *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Vol. I, pp. 297 ff.

² See p. 4.

³ Ed. Horstmann, Richard Rolle of Hampole, *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. II pp. 274 ff.

VERNON MS DISPUTE

"I criede: 'Maudeleyn, *help* now—
Mi sone hath loued ful wel the:
Preie him that I dye now,
That I nout for-geeten be!
Seest thou, Maudeleyn, now,
Mi sone is honged in a tre.
Git alyue am I thow,
And thou ne preyest not for me!'

"Maudeleyn seide: '*I con no red,
Care hath smiten myn herte sore;
I stonde, I see my lord neih ded,
And thi wepyng greueth me more.
Cum with me! I wol the lede
In to the temple her be-fore.*
Mi Mournynge is bothe feeble and
fede,
ffor thou hast now I-wept ful sore.'

"Ich askede the Magdaleyn:
'Where is that place,
In pleyn in valeye or in hille,
(Ther) I mai me huyde for eny cas,
That no serwe come me tille?
He that al my Ioye was,
Now deth of hym wol don his wille;
Con I me no beter solas
Then for to wepe al my fille.'

"The Maudeleyn cumfortede me
tho,
To lede me thenne, heo seide was
best.

Care hedde smiten myn herte so
That i migte neuere haue no rest.
'Soster, whoderward that I go,
The wo of hym is in my Brest:
While my sone hongeth so,
His peyne is in myn herte fest.

"I seih my sone, (my) ffader dere
Heige hongen vp-on a tre;
I hedde blisse whon I him bere,
And now deth for-doth my gle:
Scholde I leten him hongen here
And lete my sone al-one be?

CHARTA CHRISTI

'Mary magdalan, *helpe thou me!*
hy do my sone dye on yon tre.'
Magdalan sayd: '*I can no nother
rede*

I knele & se my lorde nere dede;
*ffule grete soro has smyten my
harte,*

And git me rewes thi payn(e)s
smarte;

ffor me were lewer to dy onone
than for to se the make this mone.
*Cumme with me! I sall the bryng
ffro this wo & this mornyng
In-tylle a tempull here be-fore;*
ffor thou has wepyd here full sore.'

My moder answerd to magda-
layan:

'Walde thou af me a-way so fayn?
I had gret ioy wen I hym bare:
Suld I now lewe hym hanga(n)d
thare,

And sofur hym so for to be,
that was my myrthe & al my gle?
Magdalan, for soothe vnkynde I
were

to go away & lefe him there.
thefore the drose here lyf I wyll,
ffor hys syght had I neuer my fyll;
Sum-tyme wen he lokyd me on,
It was my most ioy of ilkon.

he was the fayrest that euer was
borne,

& now es crowned with a garland
of thorne!'"

VERNON MS DISPUTE

Maudeleyn, thenne vndkynde I
 were,
 Gif he schulde honge & I schulde
 fle!

“‘Vnder the Cros leuen I-schille
 And seo my sone hongen ther-on;
 Of sigt I hedde neuere my fille,
 Whon I loke(d) hym vuon.’
 I bad hem gon wher was heore
 wille,
 The Maudeleyn and eurichon:
 ‘And my-seluen be-leuen I wole,
 ffor I nil fle for no mon!’”

I find, after comparing the two passages, that Horstmann has also noticed the similarity. He has little to say on the point. His words are: “the discourse with Magdalen, added by the poet. It was taken up by the Charta Christi in MS Reg. 17 CXVII.”¹ Fröhlich,² discussing the relations of the various versions of the *Dispute between Mary and St. Bernard*, says in regard to this dialogue between Mary and Magdalen:

Leider lässt sich nicht mit voller Sicherheit sagen, welche Fassung hier die ursprünglichere Lesart liefert, da die Vorlage für diese und die folgenden Strophen, d. h. also für das Zwiegespräch zwischen Maria und Magdalena, laut einer Anmerkung Horstmann's in seiner Ausgabe (EETS, 98, S. 314) die Charta Christi im MS Reg. 17 CXVII, gewesen ist, welches MS mir leider nicht zugänglich war.

Evidently Fröhlich interprets Horstmann's words to mean that the passage from MS Reg. is the original of the corresponding passage in the versions of the planctus. Horstmann does not say this in his note. On the contrary, since the dialogue in the St. Bernard poem is so much more elaborate than the MS Reg. dialogue, and the rhyme scheme seems to follow that of Vernon rather than the reverse, one might be led to suppose that if Vernon and Reg. do not go back independently to a similar original, Reg. is based on Vernon. The dialogue, moreover,

¹ *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. I, p. 314.

² *De Lamentacione Sancte Marie*, p. 21.

occurs, as already mentioned, in MS Rawlinson;¹ it occurs also in MS Tiber. E. VII. The date of the version of MS Rawl. is probably earlier than 1350;² that of MS Tiber. about 1350;³ while the Vernon MS version dates shortly after 1350. Since Vernon is the latest of the three, if the dialogue of the *Charta Christi* of MS Reg. were the source, we should expect Vernon to agree in its rhyme scheme with Reg. less closely than the earlier versions of Rawlinson and Tiber., whereas, as a matter of fact, it agrees more closely.

Nos. VIII and IX.—It is hardly necessary to mention the agreements between these two planctus, since Dr. Furnivall in printing them placed them side by side for comparison. They bear the same title: *Filius Regis Mortuus est*. These words constitute the refrain of IX throughout. The refrain of VIII is similar to that of IX in the first seven stanzas; after stanza vii it changes to "Resurrexit, non mortuus est," with a slight variation in stanza ix. Stanza i of IX agrees very closely with stanza i of VIII. The first line of stanza ii of IX is the same as the first line of stanza ii of VIII. A few phrases⁴ of stanza iii of VIII are present in stanzas iii and v of IX. After this point the two become separate and distinct. IX becomes a regular monologue planctus. VIII, on the contrary, after line 49, takes on somewhat the character of the St. Bernard type, the author and Mary conversing together. It is difficult to determine whether it is to be classed as one of that type or with XVI and XVII, where the author also converses with Mary, but not in the regular balanced fashion of the St. Bernard poems.

Nos. VIII and XII.—The agreement in this case merely concerns the refrains. In VIII—as has just been mentioned—the refrain is "Filius regis mortuus est" for the first seven stanzas; after that point, "Resurrexit, non mortuus est." In XII the refrain is, for the first nine stanzas "The Chylde ys dedd that soke my breste." After stanza ix it changes to "The chylde ys resyn that soke my breste," with slight variations. To say that the writer of XII was familiar with VIII would perhaps be going too far,

¹ See Fröhlich, p. 63.

² Fröhlich, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. VIII, 28, 29, 32, with IX, 29, 30, 54, 55.

but l. 38 of VIII, which reads "For he is dede, that soke my pappe," in close proximity to the refrain "Filius regis mortuus est," l. 36, suggests that he may have been.¹

Nos. XII and XVII.—These two planctus are entirely unlike in substance and tone. They are characterized, however, by a very minor but striking agreement. XII, ll. 33–41, reads as follows:

O Yewys, evyr worthe yow schame!
Of my rycches ye have me *robbydd*;
Ye thoght ye had a full gode game,
When he my sone with buffettes *bobbydd*.
Yf he felte sore, nothyng he *sobbydd*,
For all yowre werkys full well he wyste.
My yoye, myn herte, ye all to-robbydd;
The chylde ys dedd that soke my-breste.

XVII, ll. 7–11, reads:

Ihesus, so sche *sobbed*
So here sone was *bobbed*
And of hys lyue *robbed*
Seynge thys wordys as y sey the
Who can not wepe con lerne of me.

This same rhyme, *bobbed*, *robbed*, *sobbed* occurs at the end of each stanza of XVII, as part of the refrain. Whether the writer of either poem was familiar with the other it is impossible to say. The agreement may be a mere coincidence. Perhaps in both poems we have an echo of some well-known planctus of the day. It is barely possible, however, that if XVII is later than XII, XII in this particular directly affected XVII.

Nos. XIII, XIV, XV.—The first two planctus are so similar that they might very well be classed as different verses of one and the same poem. The Sloan MS 2593, in which XIII is preserved, is earlier² than the MS of XIV; but a comparison of the rhyme-scheme of the two leads me to believe that XIV is the basis for XIII, though it is possible that the reverse is the case. The rhyme-scheme of XIII is *aaab*, carried out consistently through the entire piece. The rhyme-scheme of the first stanza of XIV is

¹ For the further discussion of the refrains of VIII, IX, and XII in connection with XXV see pp. 29 f.

² See above, p. 7.

also *aaab*; the other stanzas have the scheme *aaaa*, *bbbb*, *cccc*, etc., throughout. This, together with the fact that XIV contains practically all the subject-matter of XIII and three stanzas besides, suggests XIV as the source of XIII.¹

Only in the first two stanzas does XV agree with XIII and XIV. The two stanzas read:

Thys blessyd babe yat thou hast born,
Hys blessyd body ys all to torne,
To bye vs a gayn yat were for lorne,
Hys hed ys crownyd with a thorn

Crownyd! alas, with thorn or breer,
for why shuld my sun thus hang here!
To me thys ys a carefull chere.
Swet son, thynke on thy moder dere!

It is XIII in this case which is apparently used as a source. Note the rhyme-scheme *aaaa*, *bbbb*. The stanzas obviously agree with stanzas ii and iv of XIII, and stanzas ii and iv of XIV. In using *Mary moder, cum and se* as a title, however, XV is like XIV, rather than like XIII. Perhaps the writer of XV was familiar with both XIII and XIV.

XVI and XVII.—The relationship in this case, though one rather of form than of substance, is so marked that we cannot afford to pass it by without comment. The first agreement lies in the fact that in XVI and apparently in XVII the vision of Mary² comes to the author. At the end of XVI the writer awakes; at the end of XVII Mary "vanyshyd a-way." Secondly both poems have an apparently confused and disorderly arrangement of subject-matter, the descriptive passages of the author and Mary's words being so mixed and jumbled that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which of the two is speaking. This is to be in part accounted for in XVI by the fact that the planctus is to be sung³ by three voices. Furnivall does not say in his print of XVII whether it was written to be sung. Thirdly, each consists of four stanzas, of very unusual metrical form and rhyme-scheme.

¹ The reference to John by *he* in l. 9 of XIII, when John has not been mentioned by name, would help to substantiate this hypothesis.

² See the first two lines of the stanzas quoted below.

³ See *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 64.

It is in metrical form and rhyme-scheme that the most striking agreement is noticeable. I quote the first stanza of each.

XVI

My feerful dreame neuyr forgete can I
 Me thought a madynys childe causles shuld dye.
 To caluery he bare his cross with doullfull payne
 and ther vpon strayned he was in euery vayne
 A crowne of thorne as nedill sharpe shyfft in his brayne
 his moder dere tendirly wept and cowde not refrayne
 myn hart can yerne and mylt
 when I sawe hym so spilt
 alas all for my gilt
 thoo I wept and sore did complayne
 to se the sharpe swerd of sorow smert
 hough it thirlyd her thorough oute the hart
 so rype and endless was her payne
 my feerful dreame neuyr forgete can I.

XVII

Sodenly A-frayd, halfe wakyng, halfe slepyng,
 and gretly dysmayd, A woman sate wepyng,
 With fauour in here face far passyng my reson;
 And of here sore wepyng this was the encheson:
 Here sone yn here lappe layd, sche seyde, sleyn by treson:
 yf wepyng myzt rype be, hit semyd then yn seson.
 Ihesus, so sche sobbed,
 so here sone was bobbed
 And of hys lyue robbed;
 Seynge thys wordys as y sey the,
 "Who can not wepe, com lerne of me."

Finally, the general tone of XVI is similar to that of XVII.

That one man wrote them both is impossible; to say that the writer of the later planctus was familiar with the earlier would be indulging in mere conjecture; that they are, however, related, after some fashion, is very clear.

B. RELATION OF THE NON-DRAMATIC AND DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

In the discussion of the relationships of the various non-dramatic planctus it was difficult to reach positive conclusions; in the discussion of the dramatic planctus in their relation to the non-dramatic it is just as difficult to obtain definite results. In no case

can we say with absolute certainty that any one of the non-dramatic planctus discussed in Section I has made its way into any of the miracle-plays. There are, however, correspondences of non-dramatic and dramatic planctus, which at least suggest that the dramatic are, in certain cases, drawn from the non-dramatic. We will therefore discuss, with a view to determining their relations to the non-dramatic planctus, each of the dramatic ones: Nos. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.

XXI—*York* and XXIII—*Chester*.—These planctus give evidence of no close relation to any other. If they were ever independent planctus, as they may very well have been, their form was in all probability different from what it is at present. They have become thoroughly assimilated by the plays of which they form a part, their stanzaic form and rhyme-scheme being similar to that of the matter immediately preceding and following. Whether they are adaptations of some Latin, French, or English poem, or whether they were composed by authors who were familiar with many planctus, yet followed none in particular, is a matter of speculation.¹

XXII—*Towneley*.—The relationship of the Towneley laments to the non-dramatic planctus is, in part, similar to that of Chester and York. In the case of Towneley, as in the case of Chester and York, there is no evidence that any of the known independent planctus or any parts of them have made their way into the plays. I can discover no agreements in phrase or rhyme sufficiently significant to warrant the hypothesis that the writer or adapter of the Towneley laments was familiar with any of the particular non-dramatic English poems. Certain portions of the laments in Towneley, however, differ very considerably from Chester and York in one respect: they have not, on the whole, become so thoroughly assimilated by the plays in which they occur as to give us ground for supposing that they were composed by the author of the plays. In the case of Towneley, *a* and *b*, the general metrical form and rhyme-scheme of the play do not remain undisturbed by the occurrence of the planctus, as in Chester and York. It

¹ This theory conflicts with the generally accepted view that the planctus forms the starting-point of the Passion Plays. For the discussion of that point in connection with the English Plays, see below, p. 32.

looks very much as if some independent planctus¹ had been incorporated in the play. The irregularities, moreover, of meter and rhyme in XXII *b*, and the very noticeable repetition of similar motives in different verse forms, suggest that we have there a combination of more than one planctus.

XXIV—*Hegge*.—The planctus in the *Hegge* plays manifest even greater variety of stanzaic form and of rhyme-scheme than Towneley. And in this cycle more than in any of the others the planctus are, so to speak, fragmentary, being introduced in small portions at various points in the plays dealing with the subjects of the *Betraying of Christ*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Burial*, and the *Resurrection*. XXIV *b* and XXIV *c* are alike in stanzaic form; XXIV *c* and XXIV *d* are unlike *b* and *c*, and *a* is unlike *d*. XXIV *a* is the only planctus in *Hegge* which has the form of an independent lyric.² Its stanzaic form differs from that of the passage immediately preceding it. XXIV *b*, *c*, and *d*, consist of short speeches by Mary which fit in here and there in the plays, contributing to the running narrative of events. In the case of XXIV *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* there is a sufficient number of conventional planctus motives to enable one to say with certainty that they belong to the planctus type, but in them more than in York, Towneley, Chester, or Digby, is introduced matter not typical³ of the planctus.

The *Hegge* planctus are therefore more unlike the independent lyrics than those of any other plays. And it is far more difficult to explain them as reworkings of one or more independent lyrics than in the case of those in the other cycles. It is, of course, possible to suppose that the author of the *Hegge Crucifixion* play, XXIV *b*, skilfully introduced planctus motives into the dramatic narrative; that because of the popularity of the planctus in this play he introduced other motives at unusual and out-of-the-way points of the narrative, such as those occupied by XXIV *a* and *d*.

¹ Note the monologue character of XXII *b*, especially ll. 383, 406, 424, where Mary's speeches, though alternating with John's, are not in actual dialogue relation to them.

² Mary laments when Mary Magdalene informs her of Christ's capture; in no other English dramatic or non-dramatic verse planctus is Mary introduced speaking at this point of the narrative.

³ In XXIV *b*, p. 322, immediately after Christ has spoken to the repentant thief at his side, Mary tells him that he has spoken to everyone except her. See also Ebert, *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Literatur*, Vol. V, p. 68; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., p. elxvi.

If such was the case, if without precedent in this the author of the Hegge plays in which the planctus occur adapted and arranged them as he did, he, in this respect, displayed very considerable inventive skill. But this is hardly probable.

There are reasons for believing that the Hegge planctus in their order and arrangement, and in part in their substance, were influenced by some Latin version of Bonaventura's *Meditations*,¹ or by some English prose or verse translation of it. As suggested above, there are two planctus in Hegge, XXIV *a* and XXIV *d*, which occur at a point in the gospel narrative at which no other dramatic or non-dramatic English planctus in verse occurs, and deal, moreover, with a theme not common to any of them. The first occurs at the end of the Hegge *Betraying of Christ*, where the capture of Christ is announced to Mary, and consists chiefly of a prayer of Mary to God to help Christ in his need.² In the *Meditations* (p. 202) she also prays to God the Father to help Christ; and, though the two prayers are not similar enough to warrant the supposition that the prose is the immediate source of Hegge, the similarity³ of substance is somewhat suggestive. I quote the two passages:

RICHARD ROLLE'S TRANSLATION OF THE MEDITATIONS

Wirchipfull *fadir of heuene, fadir of mercy* and of pete, I comend in to youre handes & your keypyng my moste dere sonne, Ihesu, and I beseke yow that ye be noghte cruelle to hym, for ye are to all othire benyng & mercyfull. *O endles fadire*, whedire Ihesu my dere sonne sall now be dede? Sothely he did neuer ill to be dede fore. Bot, *ryght-whise fadyr of heuene*, sene ye will the redempcyone of manes saulle, I be-seke yowe, lorde, that ye wolde ordeyne it one another manere than this: ffor all thyng es possibill to yowe. I pray yow, *holy fadire*, if it

¹ For the planctus in this form see pp. 4 f. The Latin version of this is not at present accessible to me. Of the many English translations but two are accessible; one, in verse, by Robert Manning of Brunne, and the other, in prose, supposedly by Richard Rolle. Each deals with about the same narrative material. The prose translation, however, carries the narrative past the point where the verse breaks off, and is therefore, for the purpose of comparison with Hegge, the more important. It includes the narrative of events concerned with Christ's death from his prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane to his talk with the pilgrims of Emmaus, and is interspersed with much dialogue, common in substance with the dialogues in Hegge which occur in the narrative of the same events.

² In VII, Mary prays to God to let her die with Christ, but does not pray to him for Christ.

³ See the prayer of a similar character in the verse *Meditations*, l. 455, *Meditations of Bonaventura*, EETS.

be likynge to yowe, that my dere sone Ihesu be nott don to dede, but delyuer ye hym fro dede & fro the handes of synners, and gyfe me hym agayne. For he for obedience and reuerence of yowe helpes nott hym-selfe, bot forsakes hym-selfe witterly, as mane that myght nother helpe hyme-selfe ne cowthe. There-fore I pray yowe, if it plesse yowe, that ye wolde helpe hyme.

HEGGE

O *fadyr of hefne!* wher ben al thi behestys
That thou promysyst me, whan a modyr thou me made?
Thi blyssyd sone I bare betwix tweyn bestys,
And now the bryth colour of his face doth fade.

O *good fadyr!* why woldyst that thin owyn dere sone xal sofre al this?
And dede he never azens thi precept, but evyr was obedyent;
And to every creature most petyful, most jentyl, and benygn i-wys,
And now for alle these kendnessys is now most shameful schent.

Why wolt thou, *gracyous Fadyr*, that it xal be so?
May man not ellys be savyd be non other kende?
Yet, *Lord Fadyr*, than that xal comforte myn wo,
Whan man is savyd be my chylde, and browth to a good ende.

Another Hegge planctus, XXIV *d*, deals also with a theme to be found only in the planctus of the Bonaventura type. It occurs in the play of the *Resurrection*, where Christ, rising out of hell, tells how he has "harrowed" it. Continuing without interruption, he turns to his mother and comforts her. Mary replies joyously. In the prose *Meditations*, p. 213, immediately following a section entitled, "How oure lorde went to hell; fyrste aftire his ded," occurs a section entitled, "The rysyng up of owre lorde Ihesu, and how he apperid firste to his modire, our lady, saynte Marie." In this section, after a prayer by Mary to Christ in which she asks him to come to her, Christ appears and addresses her. The two passages read:

MEDITATIONS

"Come agayne now, thou my wele-belouede sone. Come, my lorde Ihesu. Come, thou onely my hope. Come to me, my dere childe." And whylles scho prayed thus with louely teres: sodeynly come oure lord Ihesu in clothes whyte as any snawe, his fface schynnyng as the sone, all specyouse, all gloryouse & all full of Joye, and said to his modire: "*Haile, holy modire.*" And as sonne scho turnede hir & said: "Art thou

my dere sone Ihesu!" & with that she knelid downne & wirclyped hym: and he lowly Enclyned and toke hir vp, & said: "*My dere modire, ya, I am your sone, & I am resyne, & I am with yowe.*" Then rose they vp to-gedire, & scho halsede hym & kyssede hyme, and tendirly and loue-andly lened one hyme, and he tendirly & mekly helde hir vpe.

HEGGE

Salve, sancta parens! my modyr dere!
 Alle heyl, modyr with glad chere!
 ffor now is aresyn, with body clere,
Thi sone that was delve depe.
 This is the thrydde day that I yow tolde,
 I xuld arysyn out of the cley so colde,—
 Now am I here with brest ful bolde,
 Therefore no more ye wepe.

Maria.

Welcom, my Lord! welcom, my grace!
 Welcome, my sone, and my solace!
 I xal the wurchep in every place,—
 Welcom, Lord God of myght!
 Mekel sorwe in hert I leed,
 Whan thou were leyd in dethis beed,
 But now my blysse is newly breed,—
 Alle men may joye this syght.

The agreement is, in this case, more marked than the one first cited, and suggests, when considered with other points of similarity between the entire prose translation and the Hegge plays XXVIII to XXXIX, that the author of the Hegge planctus, or the author of the sources from which he may have borrowed, was familiar with the *Meditations* of Bonaventura in some shape or form, or with some work based upon it.¹

The many translations of Bonaventura indicate that his work was popular and well known in England before the days of the Hegge plays. If the Hegge plays were affected by Bonaventura's *Meditations* in the particular instances discussed above, the question at once arises: Does the influence of the *Meditations* upon Hegge extend beyond these instances?²

¹ For an instance of another striking agreement, see *The Coventry Mysteries*, p. 282, the prose *Meditations*, p. 200, and the verse *Meditations*, ll. 377 ff., where an angel appears to Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and announces the result of the conference in heaven held concerning his death.

² No complete Latin version of the *Meditations* is accessible to me, but the incomplete outline of the work given by Wechsaler, *Die rom. Marienklagen*, pp. 61-74, suggests some

XXV-Digby.—This is the highest development of the dramatic planctus in English; it is the only planctus which constitutes a play in itself, rather than a subsidiary part, and is suggestive of direct relations with several of the independent lyric planctus. It is with the last point that we are concerned here.

The author of Digby was probably familiar with a very considerable number of planctus. With just how many and with just which particular poems, it is of course impossible to say. Digby, by reason of its very numerous motives, very naturally agrees with hundreds of planctus in various languages, and there are also in Digby many vague echoes of other poems which it would be useless to cite here as proof of Digby's relationship with specific poems. Such agreements, as already suggested, count for next to nothing in establishing direct relationships between such highly conventionalized forms of literature, unless they are accompanied by further peculiar agreements of phrase or peculiar agreements of arrangement and order of motives. And such agreements both of thought and form, it seems, are to be detected upon comparing certain of the independent planctus with Digby. The independent lyrics which show most definite agreement with Digby are Nos. II, VIII, IX, XII, XVII.

The extent of Digby's indebtedness to No. II, if indebtedness it is, is more considerable than to any of the other planctus. No. II concerns itself with the events previous to, during, and after the crucifixion. Digby, on the contrary, deals with the events after the crucifixion. We should expect Digby, therefore, to resemble only the latter part of the *Cursor* planctus, say the part beginning with l. 24478, where Joseph and Nicodemus appear and take Christ down from the cross. This, however, is not the case; portions of the *Cursor* planctus preceding l. 24478 remind one much of Digby. The first and most obvious agreement between the two is Mary's attitude toward those who wish to bury Christ. Not once, but time and time again, does she beseech them to let her have him with her a little longer.¹ In both, her insistence on

notable agreements between the subjects and their arrangement in the entire cycle of Hegge and in the *Meditations*. Wechsler finds in the *Meditations* the source of almost the entire *Passion Play* of Arnoul Greban.

¹This motive occurs in other planctus (see Table of Motives, p. 11), but is not emphasized.

this point¹ is marked in the extreme. It is not the mere occurrence of the motive in each, but its elaboration and the very striking emphasis placed upon it, which suggests close relationship.

The second agreement is the elaboration in each of another motive very common to the planctus type—Mary's wish to die.² Here again it is the special emphasis of the motive, and the peculiar method of its elaboration in each, which call for attention. In each Mary calls upon *Christ* to let her die with him, reproaches *Death* for not taking her with her son, and beseeches the *Jews* to slay her, each of the three subdivisions of the motive³ receiving much emphasis.

CURSOR MUNDI

(ll. 24128-87)

mi dere sone na-thing sa squete.
wiltow thi moder here for-lete.
to dey grace thou me giue.

Thou dede vn-meke with-outen
make

That carful folk is wone to take
Thou spare me noȝt as frende.
if thou me sparis I can na rede.
lete me deye I prai the dede.
me sone with for to wende.

Na-thing mai pay bot thou.
whith mi sone thou take me now.
& late vs deye sammen.
my squete sone mi leue mi life.
harde hit is to dreye this strife.
me liste ful litil gammen.

na graither gate of gammen is
here;
bot late thi sorouful moder dere

DIGBY

(ll. 754-79)

O crewell deth! no lenger thou me
spare!

To me thou wer welcom, & also
acceptabill;

Oppresse me down at ons, / of the
I haue no care.

O my son, my saveyour, / & Ioye
most comfortabill,

Suffere me to dy, / with yow most
merciabill!

Or at leest lat me hold you / a while
in my lape,

Which sum-tym gaue yowe the
milk of my pape!

O ye wikkit pepill, with-out mercy
or pitee!

Why do ye not crucefyte & hinge
me on the crosse?

Spare not your nayles / spare not
your crueltee!

Ye can not make me to ron in
greter losse

¹In the *Cursor* this occurs ll. 24353 ff., and 24578 ff.; in the last case it is elaborated very extensively. In *Digby* it occurs ll. 480 ff., 556 ff., 567 ff., 603 ff., 802 ff., 813 ff., 820 ff., 823 ff.

²See Table of Motives, p. 11.

³This peculiar elaboration of the motive probably has its origin in some Latin source, inasmuch as the same motive is elaborated in almost exactly the same fashion in the German planctus printed in Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 55 ff., ll. 151 ff.

CURSOR MUNDI

that ho with the mote wende
take me with the a-pon thi rode
syn we ar bath an flesshe & blode
lets us bath sammen ende.

ye iewes that kindelis al this care.
I prai you at ye me noȝt spare.
ye waful & ye wode.
sin ye my sone wirkis this wa.
dos me that ilk then ar we twa
nailed on a rode.

Aither on rode or other paine.
this wrecche moder to be slaine.
hit is na force I-wisse.
vn-reuthfulli ye wirk vn-riȝt.
the werlde ye reue the sunne of
liȝt.
& blindes me mi blisse.

ye sla the life & hope of alle.
on quam sal I now cry & calle.
I redeles out of ro.
how salle I liue this waful life.
thus stikid in with stoure of strife.
quat is me best to do.

bot to the dede make I mi mane.
for haue I now na nother wane.
of bote ware thou me best,
walde thou be kene thi miȝt to
kithe
thou slas mi childe sla me than
squithe
Then miȝt thou make me rest.

bot dede allas qui dos thou squa.
qua yernis the thou fleis ham fra.
quen squete hit ware to squelt.
& folowes ham atte the walde fle.
& louis alle atte louis noȝt the.
this werlde vn-eyuen is delt.

DIGBY

Than to lesse my son that to me
was so dere!
Why sloo ye not the moder / which
is present her?
Dere sone! if the Iwes / yit will
not sloo me,
Your gudnes, your grace, I besech
& praye,
So call me to your merycy, of your
benignitee!
To youre mek suters ye neuer saide
yit naye;
Then may ye not your moder, in
this cawse delaye.
The modere, with the child desires
for to reeste;
Remembere myn awn son / that ye
sowket my breste

CURSOR MUNDI

Mi squete sone I on the cry
 thi sorouful moder do now mercy.
 that wont was to be milde.
 be noȝt squa harde at thou ne
 here.
 the mourning of thi moder dere.
 & think thou art my childe.

thou do thi moder with the to deye.
 & lete vs bath to-geder dreye.
 bath our wa & wele.
 muȝt I the anes welde in arme
 hale me think of al mi harme.
 that I ware ilka dele.

The third point of similarity consists of a somewhat similar treatment in each of an unusual motive, each planctus using in the development of the motive a somewhat similar touch of style or rhetorical device. The device consists of beginning a phrase or clause with the last word of the phrase or clause immediately preceding.

CURSOR MUNDI

(ll. 24188-93, 24206-8, 24353-58,
 24490-93, 24503-8, 24515-23)

24187-93

muȝt I the anes welde in arme
hale me think of al mi harme.
that I ware ilka dele.

muȝt I the welde in armis mine.
& suffer sum part of thi pine.
ful wele me ware that sithe.

24206-8

ful wa is me; me is ful wa.
was neuer moder mare waful squa.
my hert is out of state.

24353-58

with-uten cros. the cros I bare.
that crossed was. was al mi care.

DIGBY

(ll. 694-716)

To kisse, & swetly yow imbrace;
Imbrace, & in myn armes hold;
To hold, & luke on your blessit
face;

Your face, most graciose. to be-
hold;

To beholde so somly, euer I wold;
I wold, I wold, still with yow bee;
Still with yow, to ly in mold,

Who can not wepe, com lern at me!
My will is to dy, I wald not leve;
Leve, how suld I? sithen dede ar
yee.

My lif were ye! noght can me
greve,
So that I may in your presence bee.

CURSOR MUNDI

quen I on him be-helde.
 thai stokid him with a spere with
 wrange
 that thorou mi hert I felde hit
 strange
 my-self I must noȝt welde.

24491-98

Quen I him had in armis falde
 that squete flesshe bath drye &
 calde
 be-haldande on his woundis.

24508-8

on him mi heued I shoke & saide
 vn-semeli leue sone artow graide
 quat has thou saide or wroȝt.
 quether euir thou did ani feloni.
 or ani maner of plizt for quy.
 nai nay ne dide thau noȝt.

24515-23

here in mine arme I halde the dede
 allas quat is me best to rede.
 I am a wrecche of alle.
 allas quare is-mi mikil mirth
 of joy that I. had in my birth.
 squa ferli down to falle.

Me is ful *wa. wa* is me
 to grete is turnid alle mi gle.
 na blis mai make me blithe.

Other instances of the rhetorical device above mentioned occur in *Cursor*, ll. 24171 and 24542:

"Thou *slas* mi childe *sla* me than squithe"
 "mi leue was *dede. dede* was mi life"

The fourth point of agreement between Digby and the *Cursor* planctus is only a slight one, perhaps of no importance if considered by itself, but taken in connection with the other agreements it is of some significance. The refrain, "Who can not

DIGBY

Me, your wofull moder, her may
ye se;
Ye se my dedly sorow & payn,—
 Who can not wepe, com lern at
 mee!—
 To see so meke a lambe her *slayn*;
Slayn of men that no mercy *hadd*;
Had they no mercy, I reporte me
see;
 To see this bludy body, is not your
 hart *sadd* ?
Sad & sorowfull, haue ye no *pitee*,
Pite & compassion to see this *cruel-*
tee?
Crueltee, vnkindness! O men most
 vnkind!
 Ye that can not wepe, com lern at
 mee!

wepe com lern at mee," used in Digby, ll. 669-715, may have been suggested by ll. 24440-41 of *Cursor Mundi*. The lines in the Cotton MS read:

Qua ne wist forwit quat weping we(re),
Do list to me and thai mai here,

The Fairfax MS reads:

qua-sim of sorou nane has here.
herkin to me & ye mai lere.

When the refrain is first used in Digby, it takes the form, "Who that can not wepe, at me *may lere*" (l. 637), and then changes to the form given above as the regular refrain.

Fifthly, the prevailing rhyme-scheme of Digby is similar to that of the *Cursor planctus*. The prevailing rhyme of the play is *aaab, cccb*, up to l. 112. After that point and including the planctus it is *aab, ccb*, which last is the rhyme-scheme¹ of the *Cursor planctus*.

Finally, Digby has more motives in common with this planctus than with any other.

With No. VIII Digby agrees slightly in two particulars. The first is an agreement merely of substance, but of substance so uncommon in the planctus type that it becomes a distinguishing characteristic of the poem in which it occurs. I quote the two passages, calling special attention to the lines in italics:

FILIUS REGIS

(ll. 13-24)

"The kynges sone," sche seyde, "is dede!
Hyeest in heuene his fader is;
I am his moder thorowe his man-
hede,
In bedlem I bare your alderes blisse,
In circumsicion I saw hym blede,
That prince present I-wys.
In a tempille, as lawe gan lede,
Tirtildovys I offerid a-bouyn al
this;

DIGBY

(ll. 626-85)

He shrank not for to shew the shape
Of verreye man at his circumsicion
And ther shed his blude for mannys hape.
Al-so at my purification,
Of hym I made a fayre oblation,
Which to his fader was most plesinge.
For fere, than, of herodes persecucion,

¹There are variations of this rhyme in the Digby planctus, especially in those portions in which the refrain occurs, ll. 669 ff.

FILIUS REGIS

*In-to egipt I fled, as m(o)der his,
And lost hym, & fond hym at a fest
Ther he tornyd water in-to wyn
I-wis;
And now; filius regis mortuus
est."*

DIGBY

*In-till egip(t)e fast I fled with
him—
His grace me gided in euery
thinge,—
& now is he dede! that changes
my cher!*

The second agreement concerns the possible source of a very remarkable refrain¹ of a portion of Digby:

Yet suffer me to holde you here *on my lappe*
Which *sum tym* gafe you mylk of my *pape*

In *Filius Regis* occur the lines:

What wonder is it thowe I be wo
For he is dede that soke my *pappe*?
His cors-is graue I come nowe fro
That *sumtyme* lay quyke *on my lappe*.

Only twelve lines separate this passage from the one quoted above from *Filius Regis* as parallel with Digby, while the first occurrence of this refrain in Digby is in the line immediately preceding the Digby parallel. The two agreements, either of which without the other would mean little, suggest, when taken together, *Filius Regis*, No. VIII, as one of the possible sources of Digby.

No. XII merely illustrates the use of a refrain somewhat similar to the variation of the refrain used by Digby and just discussed at the end of the preceding paragraph. The refrain of XII runs: "The chylde ys dedd that soke my breste," and "The chylde ys resyn that soke my breste." The refrain in Digby runs: "Remember my dere sone that ye sowkit my briste."

No. XVII is characterized by the refrain: "Who cannot wepe com lerne of me," used, as before mentioned, also in Digby.²

It is possible then that the author of Digby was familiar with the four independent planctus. The only fact that in every case makes against his familiarity with these specific examples is, that in that day old material, when adapted by an author, generally,

¹ See ll. 625, 752, 759, with variation ll. 772, 779.

² See p. 29 for the possible source of this refrain in *Cursor Mundi* planctus. After noticing the agreement of the refrains of No. XVII and Digby, I found that it had been already noted by Dr. Furnivall.

in great part, retained its old form; we should therefore expect to find whole passages taken over bodily from any planctus used as a source. The author of Digby, however, possessed the gift of being able to give to old material a new form. And, indeed, certain portions of the planctus display very considerable rhetorical and stylistic skill, approximating real poetry more closely than anything else of the class in English. Of one thing we may be reasonably certain: the author was familiar with several planctus, and threw together two or more in order to make this unusually long one.¹ With just which ones he was familiar must be left for further study. But until other planctus come to light, which may help to make matters clear, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he probably did know some of these under discussion, and of these most probably some version of the *Cursor Mundi* planctus.

CONCLUSION

The *Planctus Mariae* has contributed very generally to the growth and development of the passion-plays in English. In only a few instances, however, has it been possible to discover the particular planctus which directly affected the planctus portions of the drama. In York and Chester they became so thoroughly assimilated with the great body of the play in which they occur that it is not possible to say whether they were once independent lyrics, or were written, along with the rest of the plays, by a dramatist who was familiar with these themes in the religious poetry of the day. In Towneley it seems possible that independent lyric planctus were introduced, without being made to conform thoroughly, as in the case of York and Chester, to the rest of the play. In Hegge they have become more thoroughly part and parcel of the drama than in any of the other plays; the author introduces into them, besides the conventional motives, other turns of thought and fancy, as he sees fit, according to the need of the dramatic situation. In Hegge, however, more definitely even than in the

¹ The constant repetition of similar motives argues for this. Still more suggestive are the various rhymes employed in the different portions: ll. 478-617 have one meter and rhyme; ll. 618-718, another; and ll. 719 ff., still another. After l. 833 the meter and rhyme fall back into the regular rhyme of the play, similar to that in ll. 478-617. Especially in the two portions, 618-718 and 719 ff., where the refrains come into use, is the rhyme irregular, the regular rhyme asserting itself only occasionally.

case of Digby, the influence of a particular planctus is to be observed. Digby shows signs of having drawn from more numerous lyrics than the cyclic plays.

We may conclude with a word about the generally accepted theory that the planctus forms the starting-point of the passion-plays. Wechsler states this theory more positively and more sweepingly than the other historians of the drama.

In Italien ist das vulgärsprachliches Drama überhaupt aus den Dichtungen der Laudesen und zwar speziell aus den Marienklagen erwachsen. Und in den Ländern, welche anders als Italien schon zuvor ein vulgärsprachliches geistliches Drama entwickelt haben, beruhen wenigstens die Passionsspiele auf unserer Litteraturgattung. Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die Marienklagen.¹

Whatever the truth may be in other languages as regards the origin and development of the passion-plays, when considered in connection with the English plays as we have them, this theory cannot be accepted without at least certain qualifications. The date of composition of those plays in which the planctus are present is so late that it seems very improbable that it is, in its present form, the germ of the play around which other materials gathered. Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the planctus portion written along with the rest of it? Since at the time when the cyclic passion-plays and the Digby play were written this form of the lyric was already in vogue in England, it is very natural that those portions of the plays which dealt with Mary and Christ should be affected by it. In the case of Digby only do we seem to have the actual development of a planctus into a play. If the planctus are cut out of the cyclic plays, fairly complete plays are left; Digby would not be a play without the planctus. Yet even in the case of Digby we have, in all probability, not an instance of the planctus expanding² so as to include the narrative of events leading up to it. It is more probably the dramatization of some prose or poetical composition which included alike the preceding events and the planctus

¹ *Die rom. Marienklagen*, p. 98. See further on this point Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 241 ff.; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 67 ff.; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 40; Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 51 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, *Introd.*, pp., cxc ff.

² Chambers calls Digby an "elaborate planctus," *Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 129.

as well. Such a composition was the *Meditations* of Bonaventura.¹ Such was, in a sense, the Greek *Gospel of Nichodemus B.* itself. How many others of this kind existed in Latin or in the vulgar tongues during the early Middle Ages no one knows. From some such tracts as these it is easy to see how a play like Digby could directly or indirectly be produced. Indeed, the explanatory remark preceding the prologue of Digby, though not by any means conclusive proof that this is the case, certainly suggests it. It reads:

"The prologe of this treyte or *meditatoun* off the buryalle of Christe and Mowrnynge therat."

The theory that the planctus forms the germ or the starting-point² of the passion-plays, though true perhaps when applied to the early periods of the drama in its development, does not seem to apply to such late compositions as the English plays. In certain instances it seems that the writer inserted into his compositions the lyrics ready-made. In certain cases he seems to have followed compositions which include the lamentations of Mary without being in themselves planctus. In no case is there any conclusive proof which goes to show that the planctus is, in the English passion-play, the original portion from which the rest of the play was expanded.

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¹For others of this type see Wechsler, pp. 6 ff.; Linder, Introd., pp. cliv ff.

²Wechsler's most significant discovery of the *Meditations* of Bonaventura as the source of the *Passion Play* of Arnoul Greban does not harmonize with his own general theory.

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THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY TO THE MIDDLE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS LYRIC

The historians of the English drama, in seeking to record its origin and development, have almost without exception failed to take notice of the Middle English religious lyric in its relation to the Corpus Christi plays. An occasional note, made at random from time to time, indicates, it is true, that certain writers have been aware that a relation of some sort exists between these two forms of Middle English literature. These notes, however, have for the most part concerned themselves with calling attention to very slight, though interesting, parallels. It is with such similarities, for example, that the observations of Wright,¹ Hone,² Courthope,³ E. Mall,⁴ and W. A. Craigie⁵ have had to do. Davidson,⁶ moreover, and Chambers⁷ have taken notice in a very general fashion of the fact that the plays are very considerably indebted to the great body of devotional poetry of the day; while Cook⁸ has called attention to the frequent occurrence of the *Testament of Christ* in Middle English literature.

One specific type of the mediaeval religious lyric, the *Planctus Mariae*, has for many years attracted considerable attention among

¹ *The Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 204 (Shakspeare Society, Vol. I).

² *Ancient Mysteries Described*, pp. 90 ff.

³ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 413 ff.

⁴ *The Harrowing of Hell*.

⁵ *An English Miscellany*, pp. 52 ff.

⁶ *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, p. 170.

⁷ *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.

⁸ *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 207 ff.

European scholars and its relation to the drama has been fairly clearly determined.¹ The other numerous lyric types, most of which, like the planctus, seem to have had their origin in the Latin,² and some of which, like the planctus, have spread through Europe, have been, so far as I can learn, almost entirely ignored. Taken collectively, these forms doubtless contributed far more extensively to the growth of the cyclic plays in Europe than did the planctus, and one of these types alone, *The Testament of Christ* or *The Complaint of Christ to his People*, probably had an effect, all but as important as that of the planctus itself, on the growth and expansion of the passion-play.

It was at the suggestion of Professor Manly that I began several years ago to investigate the relation of the general body of lyric poetry in Middle English to the Corpus Christi plays. The field proved fertile. Indeed, so numerous are the types of the lyric which have contributed to the formation of the Corpus Christi plays, and so numerous are the examples which go to make up certain of these types,³ that I found it necessary for the time being to limit the thoroughgoing investigation to one special type, the *Planctus Mariae*.⁴ From a general survey of the field, however, I have been able to arrive at results certain and definite enough to warrant some sort of a statement, and this paper will have attained its object if it succeeds in putting forward some of the more important of the types of the Middle English religious lyric upon which the writers and compilers of the miracle-plays have drawn most freely and extensively.

It will be unnecessary to enter here into an elaborate discussion of the meaning of the term "lyric;" but inasmuch as many of the poems to which reference will be made are not lyrical in any ordinary modern sense, it may be well to say that I have classed as

¹ For references, see "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff. A thesis by Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen*, was published several months before my article on the *Planctus* appeared. My article, which had been in the hands of the editors of *Modern Philology* for almost two years, was being printed when I secured a copy of Thien's thesis.

² Unfortunately, during the last few months, *Analecta hymnica* (Dreves) has been inaccessible to me. It doubtless contains many other Latin prototypes of the Middle English lyrics than those which I cite in this paper.

³ *The Testament of Christ* and *The Hail Mary*.

⁴ See "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff.

lyric any verse which either in metrical form or in emotional motive seemed in any sense to belong to the lyric categories. I have listed many prayers which are very slightly lyrical, if lyrical at all in any sense, and very occasionally I have paused to comment incidentally upon didactic types such as the *Ten Commandments*.

Perhaps the non-dramatic type most frequently incorporated into the plays is the general prayer addressed, as the occasion may serve, to God the Father, Christ the Son, and very frequently also to the Virgin Mary. There are thousands of these prayers to be found in the devotional poetry of the day, and hundreds in the plays.¹ It is fairly certain that many of these were taken over as ready-made lyrics by the play-writers and adapted to dramatic purposes. Thus the celebrated mediaeval Latin hymn, *Veni creator, spiritus*,² seems to have been taken over bodily by Chester in *The Emission of the Holy Ghost*,³ and probably has escaped notice up to the time, mainly because it is so abominably translated.⁴ Of the prayers to Christ⁵ two types especially have exerted a very marked and definite influence upon the drama. Of both types there are scores in Middle English literature. The one is

¹ *Chester Plays* (ed. Thomas Wright, Shaks. Soc., Vol. I), Vol. I, pp. 97, 163; Vol. II, pp. 159, 160, 179; *York Mystery Plays* (ed. Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith), pp. 3, 36, 61, 100, 108, 433; *The Towneley Plays* (ed. A. W. Pollard, EETS), pp. 3, 23, 40, 99, 196; *Covenstry Mysteries* (ed. J. O. Halliwell, Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 40, 49, 57, 104, 380. For examples of prayers of a somewhat similar nature, see *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 28, 145, 149, 355; *An Old English Miscellany* (EETS), p. 100; *Religious Pieces* (EETS), p. 59; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. IX, p. 49; *Anglia*, Vol. I, p. 67; *Specimens of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 49; *Richard Rolle of Hampole* (ed. Horstmann, "Yorkshire Writers"), Vol. I, pp. 363 ff.; *Bannatyne MS* (pr. for the Hunterian Club), Vol. I, pp. 84, 107.

² See *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, p. 75. See further, *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. I, p. 43; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 241 ff.

³ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 127 ff. In the Heggio *Mary's Betrothment* (p. 98), the stage directions order the singing of this hymn, but the existing text does not contain it. In the *York Descent of the Holy Spirit* (p. 469), we are told that the angels sang this hymn to Mary.

⁴ See for dramatic customs in connection with the hymn, Chambers, *The Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 66. See for parallels, Appendix of the present discussion, pp. 16 f.

⁵ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 99, 101 ff.; *York*, pp. 177, 212, 363, 424 ff., 504; *Town.*, pp. 325 ff., 340 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 223, 356, 403. For prayers to Christ of various kinds, see *Minor Poems of the V. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 45, 48, 131 ff., 154, 332; Vol. II, 449, 451, 464 ff.; *Richard Rolle of Hampole* ("Yorkshire Writers"), Vol. I, pp. 72 ff., 363 ff.; *William of Shorham* (EETS), pp. 79 ff.; *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (Scot. T. Soc.), pp. 21, 24, 62, 64, 73 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar*, Vol. II (Scot. T. Soc.), p. 65; *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, re-ed., Furnivall (EETS), pp. 123 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. V, Anzeiger, p. 119; Vol. XII, p. 595; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 255 ff.; Vol. X, pp. 232 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. XCVIII, p. 129.

the prayer of a repentant sinner, lamenting his past offenses;¹ the other consists of that class of prayers in which the sufferings and bodily wounds of Jesus are recounted in detail as cause for lamentation.² No single motive in the devotional poetry of the day seems to have been turned to literary uses so frequently and no motive enables the writers of the time to rise to more fervid and more moving heights of lyric poetry. It would seem that this motive has been taken over from the *Testament of Christ* poems, which will be considered at some length below. An exceptionally conventional form of these lyrical prayers is characterized both in the plays and in the independent lyrics by the initial phrase "When I think."³ Another very conventional passage which occurs in these prayers to Jesus and has made its way from the lyric over to the drama is characterized by the constant repetition of the phrase "Mercy Jesus."⁴

Perhaps the most highly conventional of all the conventional forms of address to Christ is the *Hail Jesus*, a prayer in which oftentimes almost every line begins with this formula, followed by synonyms indicating in a fashion the different qualities and characteristics of the Savior. There are numerous examples of this

¹ *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 180 ff., 192 ff.; *York*, pp. 30 ff., 39, 133, 174, 311; *Town.*, pp. 343, 351 ff.; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 48 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 696, 785 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 74 ff., 368 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 123 ff., *Hymns to V. and C. (EETS)*, pp. 95 ff.; *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. I, pp. 261 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 119 ff., 190 ff., 226; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 157, 160. The cries of lost souls who are being carried away to hell might very well be considered in connection with the prayers of the repentant sinners, but more fittingly deserve consideration in connection with the many lyrical poems which have found their way into the judgment-plays, which I consider below.

² In the plays these lyrics in the majority of cases are characterized by some one of the stanzas or lines beginning with the word "Alas!" Sometimes also this is the case with the independent lyrics. See further, *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 95, 101; *York*, pp. 290, 341 ff., 406 ff., 410, 421 ff., 456, 480 ff.; *Town.*, pp. 277, 316 ff., 325 ff., 358; *Cov.*, pp. 316, 331, 355 ff., 360; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 37, 47, 302, 334, 404, 425 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 452 ff., 471 ff.; *Legends of the Holy Rood (EETS)*, pp. 150, 194 ff., 217 ff., 222; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 76 ff., 369 ff.; *William of Shoreham's Poems (EETS)*, pp. 79 ff.; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry (Percy Soc., Vol. IV)*, pp. 62 ff., 63, 86, 111 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VII, pp. 454, 468; Vol. IX, p. 45; *Anglia*, Vol. XII, pp. 595 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 263 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 33, 140, 197; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 77, 85, 90, 103, 106. Especially interesting is the passage of this kind to be found in *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene* (ed. Bertha M. Skeat), as the same kind of passage is so frequently put into her mouth in the miracle-plays. See further *Hymni Latini (Mone)*, Vol. I, pp. 121 ff., 131 ff., 392 ff.

³ *York*, p. 452, l. 116; *Town.*, pp. 316, 327, 328; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry (Percy Soc., Vol. IV)*, p. 83; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 78; *Hymni Latini (Mone)*, Vol. I, pp. 415 ff. For parallels, see Appendix, pp. 17 f.

⁴ *York*, pp. 424, 489; *Town.*, p. 351; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 60 f. For parallel passages, see Appendix, pp. 29 f.

form in the drama; it appears most frequently in the Christmas plays and constitutes a very large portion of the body of the play in Chester, York, and Towneley.¹ It may possibly not be amiss to consider as variations of the above lyrical form the *Welcome* and *Farewell* lyrics sometimes addressed to Jesus, sometimes to Mary, in which "Welcome" or "Farewell" are substituted for "Hail;" they seem to be modeled throughout upon the *Hail* poems.² Very similar in form and general treatment to the *Hail Jesus* is the *Hail Mary*.³ Serving about the same purpose in the plays is the prayer which begins with "Come" instead of "Hail,"⁴ and which very probably belongs to the class of Latin lyrics represented by *Veni praeclsa domina*.⁵ The *Hail* lyrics and their variations may all have been the development of one line in the annunciation-lyrics, spoken by Gabriel, "Hail Mary."⁶

¹ *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 140 ff., 167 ff.; *York*, pp. 114 ff., 135 ff., pp. 216 ff., 444 ff.; *Town.*, pp. 114 ff., 139 ff., 157 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 153 ff., 168 ff. See also *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 78 ff.; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 24 ff.; *Lydgate's Nightingale and Other Poems* (ed. Glauning, EETS), pp. 26 ff.; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 72 ff., 84 ff. See further, *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 156 ff. See Appendix, p. 18.

² The *Welcome* lyrics are to be found in *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.; *York*, pp. 443, 489; *Cov.*, pp. 176, 347; *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors* (Manly, Pre-S. Dr.), II, 699 ff. See also for this form of address applied to persons other than Christ, *The Digby Plays* (ed. Furnivall, EETS), pp. 18, 128. They are to be found as independent lyrics in *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), p. 10; *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), pp. 4, 53, 57; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 43; *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, p. 265. The specimen printed in Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII, p. 43, suggests that this class of lyrics may have had its origin in some of the pagan Germanic folk-customs.

The *Farewell* lyrics are to be found in *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 171; *York*, pp. 447, 487; *Town.*, p. 203; *Cov.*, pp. 102, 143, 160, 347. See *The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene*, ed. Bertha M. Skeat. See also *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 57, and *The Bann. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 645 ff., where it is used as a form of address to others than Christ. See for parallel passages, Appendix, pp. 19 ff.

³ *York*, pp. 473, 484 ff., 492; *Cov.*, pp. 176, 387, 389, 391; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff., 121 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (1st ed., EETS), pp. 81 ff., 145 ff., 174 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham* (EETS), pp. 127 ff.; *Hymns to V. and C.*, pp. 4 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 80; *Chaucerian and Other Poems* (ed. Skeat), p. 275; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 174; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 321 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 183 ff. For the use of this lyric as a form of address to characters other than Christ and Mary, see *The Digby Plays*, pp. 69, 103 ff., 126 ff. For French forms see Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 974 ff. For Latin lyrics of this type see *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, pp. 125 ff., 169 ff., 172 ff., 190 ff.; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ *York*, pp. 445, 484.

⁵ *Das deutsche Kirch.* (Wackernagel), Vol. I, p. 246; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 125 f.; see also *Hymni Latini*, Vol. I, p. 247, and *Piae Cantiones* (Klemming), p. 176. See Appendix, p. 21.

⁶ See the Latin lyric, *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, p. 116; see English lyrics, *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 100; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, p. 4; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 401; *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 94; *York*, p. 98; *Town.*, p. 88; *Cov.*, p. 112.

Of the general prayers and hymns to Mary there are in the poetry of the day thousands,¹ and in the drama some few.² It is especially interesting to find, however, that two of the most highly conventionalized of all the hymns to Mary have worked their way into the plays. The one is the lyric which plays fancifully with the individual letters of Mary's name;³ the other is one of the most facetious and popular of the religious lyrics current during the Middle Ages, *The Five Joys of Mary*, sometimes also written in the form, *The Seven, Nine, and Fifteen Joys of Mary*. It is in the form of the *Five Joys* that it is found in the *York Plays*.⁴ This form of the lyric, however, affected the drama most extensively when at Brussels it was given the dignity of a separate play.⁵

Of the many types of prayers and complaints in Middle English none is characterized by a more peculiar and striking tone than that in which the prayer is made to suit the especial needs of an old man.⁶ In these lyrics the speaker sometimes laments the sins of his youth, complains of his decrepit condition, and describes in detail the physical decay which accompanies old age. Many of these are of the nature of dramatic monologues and

¹ See *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, pp. 47, 82, 109 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 22, 89, 102, 169, 235, 274; Vol. II, pp. 120, 212, 228 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 190.

² *York*, pp. 101, 476, 492, 494 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 116, 128, 154. Professor Manly has suggested that many more were present at one time in the body of the plays, but that most of them were cut out at the time when Mary-worship fell into disfavor in England.

³ See *Cov.*, p. 88; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 64; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 94 f. See also the prayer to Jesus (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 278). See for parallel passages, Appendix, p. 29.

⁴ Pp. 493 ff. See also for Latin forms, *Das deutsche Kirch.*, Vol. I, pp. 150 ff.; *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. II, pp. 161 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hamp.*, Vol. I, pp. 408 ff.; and for English forms, *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 23 ff., 31 ff., 133 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham*, pp. 117; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 87; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. IV), pp. 54 ff., 94 ff.; *Christmas Carols* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. IV), pp. 7 f.; *Songs and Carols* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII), pp. 68 ff.; Bøddeker, *Altenglische Dichtung*, p. 218; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 164, 226, 232, 242, 257; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 48; Matsner's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, pp. 51; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 275, 282; Vol. CIX, pp. 48, 49; *Cursor Mundi* (EETS), Parts V, VI, p. 1468. See further Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, p. 973. For parallel passages, see Appendix, p. 22.

⁵ *Creizenach*, Vol. I, p. 340; *Chambers*, Vol. II, p. 87.

⁶ *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 119, 197; Vol. II, p. 210; *Hymns to V. and C.*, pp. 36, 83; *Anglia*, Vol. III, p. 279; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II), pp. 240, 254; *Spec. of Relig. Poetry* (*P. Soc.*, Vol. IV), p. 47; *Bann. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 457, 781; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 2 ff. Sometimes the passage simply describes the condition of the body in old age, without taking the form of a complaint. See *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (*Percy Soc.*, Vol. II), p. 30; *The Pricke of Conscience* (ed. R. Morris), p. 22; *Hymns to V. and C.*, p. 79; *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 446 ff.; *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), p. 138. The best known of these is perhaps "Maximon," *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 119 ff.; pr. also in *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 279 ff., and in Bøddeker, *Alteng. Dicht.*, pp. 244 ff.

readily adapt themselves to dramatic treatment. It is difficult to read the speeches of characters in the plays, such as Noah, Joseph, and Simeon, without feeling that they were in a very definite sense influenced by these complaints.¹ And the humorous treatment of Joseph in the Corpus Christi plays, especially in Chester and Coventry,² may, in fact, be due to the eternal ridiculing of old men with young wives in the semi-religious lyrics.³

Middle English poetry contains an exceedingly rich body of Christmas songs.⁴ One might expect to find that these had exerted a considerable influence upon the English Christmas plays. And there are, it is true, a few fragments of what may have once been Christmas lyrics.⁵ But if there were ever complete lyrics at the beginnings of the English shepherds plays, or at those points in the plays where the angels first address the shepherds—points at which we might expect to find them—they have been crowded out by material of another sort. In *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors*, there are, of the three songs appended at the end, two, Nos. I and III, which bear unmistakable evidence of being Christmas lyrics.⁶ There is also another Christmas lyric which very evidently resembles those portions of the Christmas plays in which the shepherds make their offerings to Christ.⁷ In this case, however, it is the lyric which has been influenced by the miracle plays, rather than the reverse.

¹ *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 139, 189; *York*, pp. 43, 102, 138, 436; *Town.*, pp. 25, 161, 181 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 98, 118; see also *Nice Wanton*, Manly's *Pre-S. Dr.*, Vol. I, ll. 280 ff., for the same type of speech in the mouth of an old woman. For parallel passages, see Appendix, pp. 22 ff.

² *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 138 ff.; *Cov.*, pp. 117 ff., 131 ff., 145 ff.

³ *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 52; Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 90 ff. See for the treatment of this theme in the fourth-century Greek homiletic writings, Cook, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 421 ff.

⁴ See *Christmas Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV); *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII); *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 189, 196, 231, 235, 253, 260, 265, 268, 271, 274, 279. A complete list of them would make a small-sized book of bibliography in itself. See also, for numerous Latin songs of much the same sort, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

⁵ *Town. Shepherd's Play*, I, ll. 295 ff.; II, ll. 638 ff.; *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, ll. 1-13. See also *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors* (Manly, *Pre-S. D.*), ll. 435 ff.

⁶ Manly, *Pre-S. Drama*, Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.; ed. also by Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (ERTS), p. 32. Compare with No. I, *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 76; for the same carol see also *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 12, and *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 250 ff.; compare with No. III the lyric No. LXXXIII of the Balfol MS, 354, *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff. See Appendix, p. 23, for parallels.

⁷ *Anglia* Vol. XXVI, pp. 243 ff., Poem No. LXXXII, stanzas 7, 8, 9. See Appendix, pp. 23 ff., for parallels.

Almost as widespread as the *Christmas Carol*, and far more uniform in its type, is the *Testament of Christ*, termed variously the *Lament of the Redeemer*, *Christ's Charter*, and *Christ's Complaint*.¹ Here again, as in the case of the *Complaints of an Old Man*, we have an instance of a lyrical form which is in itself essentially of the nature of a dramatic monologue; and the treatment of this theme in the drama and in the independent poems differs scarcely at all, the independent poems sometimes, it is true, growing to far larger proportions than they ever do in the drama. It seems highly probable that in many cases the independent lyric has been inserted into the drama with little or no change. In Towneley² this, it would seem, has certainly happened. Skelton's lyric on the same theme,³ if Skelton's it may be called, is almost word for word and rhyme for rhyme similar to Towneley. It is difficult to say how much this form had to do with the growth and development of the passion-plays. Historians of the drama have had so much to say about the *Planctus Mariae* in its relation to the passion-plays that they have failed to take special notice of this lyrical form, about as widespread and popular in the Middle Ages as the *planctus*, if not more so. The form, however, may have had more to do with the initial stages of development of the passion-play than it is given credit for. It is barely pos-

¹ Cook, in *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. 208 ff., called attention to the frequent occurrence of this form in English and in other literatures, citing at the same time examples of its occurrence in the miracle-plays and inquiring into its origin. I add the following references: *Chester*, Vol. II, pp. 190 ff.; *York*, pp. 363, 423, 450, 454; *Town.*, pp. 285 ff., 341; *Cov.*, pp. 207, 323, 329, 346; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 259, 435; Vol. II, 462, 625, 659; *Pricke of Conscience*, pp. 141, 145; *An Old Eng. Misc.* (EETS), pp. 81, 231; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 53, 62 (similar to version by Skelton, pp. 141 ff.), 69 ff.; *Cursor Mundi*, pp. 1644 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (re-ed. by Furnivall for EETS), pp. 141 ff., 182 ff., 190 ff., 254 ff., 262 ff., 276 ff.; *Hymns to V. and C.* (EETS), pp. 124 ff.; *The Lamentation of Soule* (ed. Lumby with *Be Domes Daeg*) II, 35 ff. (EETS); *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), pp. 41 ff., 76 ff., 85 ff.; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 259 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 19 ff., 46; *Wyt and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 68 ff.; *Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 82 ff., 96, 103, 112 ff.; *Lydgate's Two Nightingale Poems* (EETS), pp. 21 ff.; *Poetical Works of Skelton*, Vol. I, pp. 141, 144; *The Assumption of our Lady* (re-ed. by G. H. McKnight, EETS), pp. 123 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 207 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 119, 225; *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 350 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 246, 248 ff., 255; *Alleng. Dicht.* (Böddeker), pp. 271 ff.; *The New Nut Brown Maid* ("Early Popular Poetry," ed. Haslitt, Vol. III), pp. 2 ff.; *Rich. R. of Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 88; Vol. II, pp. 16 ff., 457 ff. See also Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel, 1906), p. 82. Compare *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 398 f., and also *Carmina Burana* (Schmeller, 1904), p. 29.

² *The Resurrection of the Lord*, II, 262 ff.

³ *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 144 ff. See Appendix, pp. 26 ff., for parallel passages.

sible that it is to some form of this Lament that de Douhet refers when seeking to explain the origin of the passion-play.¹ In the English passion-play there is no more evidence that the *planctus* was the germ or starting-point of the passion-plays than there is for the *Christ's Testament*.² In the German Tyrol³ and Alsfelder⁴ passion-plays this passage follows very closely the Latin hymn form, in which is found the First Lesson for the First Nocturn for Good Friday.⁵ In both cases, moreover, the initial lines are in the original Latin, as if at one time the entire Latin hymn had had its place in the earliest passion-plays. So far as I have been able to discover, it seems by no means certain that the *planctus* was dramatized any earlier than the *Testament of Christ*.

Any investigation of the resurrection-lyrics, some of which are still retained in many of the miracle-plays⁶ which treat the events following the crucifixion, would naturally lead us back to the question of the liturgical origins of the Easter-play. With that question this paper is not directly concerned. There are, however, some few of these lyrics in the plays which may be the result of the playwrights having drawn upon the English independent resurrection-lyrics,⁷ rather than the result of the retention and gradual development of the original resurrection-hymns of the liturgical drama.

From the point of view of today those lyrics which deal with the general theme of the *Life of Man*⁸ in a semi-secular, semi-

¹ *Dictionnaire des mystères*, pp. 633 ff.

² See "The English *Planctus Mariae*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 632 ff.

³ Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, pp. 127 ff.

⁴ *Deutsche Nat.-Litteratur*, "Das Drama des Mittelalters," Vol. III, pp. 764 ff.

⁵ For other places in which it is employed in the Sarum Use, see Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 208.

⁶ York, p. 424; Town., pp. 324, 344 ff., 355 ff., 362; Cov., pp. 343, 356 ff., 362 ff., 367 ff., 371 ff., 375 ff.

⁷ *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, pp. 47; *The Bann. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 93, 95. For poems of the same kind with refrains as in Cov., pp. 375 ff., see *The Bann. MS*, pp. 92 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (EETS), pp. 210 ff.; *Chester*, Vol. II, "Notes," pp. 204 ff. The last three examples are in reality *Planctus Mariae* influenced in form by the resurrection-lyric. For examples of Latin lyrics of a somewhat similar type, see Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. I, pp. 175 ff., 218, 242 ff.

⁸ For lyrics of this general type, see *Lydgate's Minor Poems* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 74 ff., 196; *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (P. Soc., Vol. IV), pp. 23, 47, 60, 101; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), pp. 64 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 4 ff.; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 28, 138, 160, 234, 235, 251; *The Minor Poems of Lydgate* (P. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 20, 166, 177, 229; *Early Pop. Poetry*, Vol. III, p. 40; *Bann. MS*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 55, 127 ff., 181, 137, 152 ff., 155 ff., 201, 209 ff.,

religious tone are by far the most interesting of all the various classes with which we are concerned in this discussion. The writers of Middle English verse never tire of discoursing about the briefness, the changeableness of life, the transitoriness and worthlessness of all earthly things, often stopping to describe in detail the repulsiveness of the human body, and almost as often, using this text as a sermon, ending the poem by calling upon us to amend our lives and repent while there is yet time. The best-known and, in a literary way, the most effective form of this lyric is the *Ubi Sunt*, immortalized by Villon and Thomas de Hales, in which the writer inquires where the great and famous of the world are all gone. With this lyric we are not concerned here; its influence on the *Corpus Christi* play is hardly to be detected, though it later makes its appearance in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, later still at the end of *The Disobedient Child*, and finally in Shakespeare's *Richard III*.¹ Other types of the *Life of Man* lyric have, however, exercised an influence upon these plays which, though slight, is marked and striking. In the Towneley *Shepherd Plays*² appears the form which emphasizes the variableness of life in the conventional phrases, "Now in, now out;"³ in the Towneley *Shepherd's Play, II*,⁴ the briefness of life is especially emphasized.⁵ In the Towneley *Judgment*⁶ there is a suggestion of the *Ubi Sunt* which calls to mind rather the Anglo-Saxon⁷ form than

308, 321, 329; Vol. II, pp. 759 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. I, pp. 235, 291; Vol. II, p. 71; Vol. XXVI, pp. 141 ff., 158, 167, 185, 197 ff., 207; *Minor Poems of V. MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 335, 343; Vol. II, pp. 512, 667, 672, 674 ff., 686, 692, 715, 728 ff., 730, 740 ff.; *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems* (re-ed. EETS), pp. 255, 263; *Twenty-six Polit. Poems* (EETS), p. 113; *Wm. of Shoreham* (EETS), p. 1; *Religious Pieces* (EETS), p. 79; *Hymns to V. and C.* (EETS), pp. 39, 58, 80, 83, 86; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 65, 69, 93, 156, 161, 170; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (ed. Skeat), pp. 291 ff., 449; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 46; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XXI, p. 201; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, p. 2; *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 30; *The Poems of Dunbar* (Scott. T. S.), Vol. II, pp. 74 ff., 110, 226, 232, 244; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 77, 367 ff.; *The Pricke of Conscience* (ed. Morris), pp. 39, 52.

¹ Act IV, sc. iv, ll. 91 ff.

² I, ll. 1 ff., and II, ll. 60 ff.

³ *The Sayings of St. Bernard* (*Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II), pp. 513, 692, and elsewhere in *The Sayings of St. Bernard*; Béddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 196; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. IX, p. 441; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CIX, p. 42; *Pricke of Conscience*, pp. 40 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar* (STS), Vol. II, p. 244. See Appendix, p. 29, for parallel passages.

⁴ Ll. 120 ff.; see also *Chester*, Vol. II, p. 165.

⁵ *Minor Poems of V. MS*, Vol. II, p. 692; *Wyt and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (Shaks. Soc., Vol. II), pp. 110 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 192 ff.; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. II, p. 457; *Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 20 ff.

⁶ Ll. 550, 551.

⁷ *The Wanderer* (*Bibl. der angelsächs. Poesie*, Walcker, ll. 92 ff.); see also a somewhat similar form in *Body and Soul* poems.

the highly conventionalized and fixed form of Middle English. In the Towneley *Lazarus*¹ there is a lyrical passage which reminds one of the *Ubi Sunt* in theme, but differs from it very considerably in its type—a type which is about as common in Middle English as the better-known *Ubi Sunt*.² There is, moreover, a longer lyric in the *Lazarus* which is marked by the refrain “Amend thee man whilst thou may.”³ Poems of a very similar nature, most of them characterized by almost the same refrain, are abundant in the general body of lyric poetry of the day;⁴ they too have their Latin prototype. Within this lyric another form makes its appearance—a form which the *verse* homilist is fond of using when preaching his sermons of the frightening sort. It reads here, “Thynk thou on the dredefull day,” and, “Thynke thou farys as dothe the wynde.”⁵ Similar passages occur in many poems of the day.⁶ In the *Lazarus* also the poet follows the body of man after death and describes it in detail.⁷ The passage calls to mind scores of poems which treat the same theme, from some of which it very probably borrowed many a phrase and line. The most remarkable line which has worked its way into this passage is, “The Royfe of your hall,/your naked nose shall touche,” which is present in almost all of the *Body and Soul* poems, and sometimes in the *Long Life* poems.⁸

¹ Ll. 111 ff.

² *Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, p. 154; *Spec. of L. P.* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV), p. 87; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), p. 63; for Old French form see *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* (P. Soc., Vol. XXVII), p. 33; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 186; *Relig. Pieces* (EETS), p. 81; *An Old Eng. Misc.* (EETS), pp. 91, 94, 137; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 676, 678. Compare *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, p. 396. For parallels see Appendix, p. 30.

³ *Town.*, p. 392, ll. 174 ff.

⁴ *Polit., Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 215 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 62, 78; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 668, 672, 725 ff., 727 ff., 730 ff.; *Twenty-six Polit. and Other Poems*, pp. 60 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. I, p. 411; Vol. II, p. 71; Vol. XXVI, p. 233; *Minor Poems of Lydgate* (Percy Soc., Vol. II), pp. 228 ff.; the poem is far too similar to other poems of this type to be called Lydgate's in any proper sense; *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), pp. 63 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (P. Soc., Vol. XXIII), pp. 4, 29, 37, 45; *Bann. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 97, 103, 127, 129, 133, 138, 145, 201, 208; *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 76; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, pp. 275 ff. For Latin poems with somewhat similar refrain, see *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 395 ff.; *Cantiones* (Klemming), pp. 16 ff. See Appendix, pp. 32 ff., for parallel passages.

⁵ Ll. 176, 178.

⁶ *Spec. of Lyric Poetry* (Percy Soc., Vol. IV); *Religious Songs* (P. Soc., Vol. XI), p. 71; printed also in *An Old Eng. Misc.*, p. 170; *Minor Poems of the V. MS.*, Vol. II, p. 477; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 156; *Pricke of Cons.*, p. 73; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 139. For Latin form, see *Latin Hymns* (March), p. 121. See Appendix, pp. 33 ff., for parallel passages.

⁷ *Town.*, pp. 391 ff.

⁸ Especially is it noticeable in the Anglo-Saxon specimen printed in *Anglia*, Vol. V., p. 230; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. XIV, p. 184, ll. 153 ff. For other passages very similar to the *Lazarus*

The judgment-plays, among the very latest developments of the English cyclic plays, afford on the whole the most interesting examples of the influence of the independent poems upon the up-building of the cyclic dramas. It is impossible perhaps to arrive at a just estimate of their origin and development, without entering into a thoroughgoing investigation of the Doomsday literature of the Middle Ages; and that, of course, lies beyond the limits of this study. It seems possible, however, to get a notion of some sort as to their development in English. The York judgment-play seems to represent the most primitive form of the four plays in English. Its structure is fairly simple: an opening speech by God recounting the wickedness of mankind, brief praise of God by the angels, the cries of the good and bad souls as they awake, Christ's descent to earth, and brief talk with his angels, brief speeches of the devils, Christ's *Complaint or Testament*, his division of the good and bad souls, their questions and replies to Christ, Christ's blessing of the good souls and damning of the bad—this is about the plot of the play. One set of incidents in this play we find in the judgment-plays of Chester, Towneley, and Coventry, with varying degrees of elaboration: the cries of the good and bad souls as they awake and arise from their graves, Christ's reproaches to the bad and blessing to the good, the dialogue between Christ and the good and bad souls, the attempts of the bad souls to justify themselves, and the final blessing and damnation. And this set of incidents seems to constitute the general framework of the plays. Comparison of this portion of the plays with the treatment of the same theme in *The Pricke of Conscience*¹ makes it seem that even this portion was already more or less prepared for by the dialogue treatment of the same theme

description of what we come to after death, see *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 130; *The Poet. Works of Skelton* (ed. Dyce), Vol. I, p. 19; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVII, p. 309; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 367 ff., 372; *Pricke of Con.*, pp. 13 ff.; *Wm. of Shoreham*, p. 32; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 78, 92, 172 ff., 178; *Minor P. of V. MS.*, Vol. I, pp. 270, 335, 343; Vol. II, pp. 511 ff. Similar passages may be found in almost any of the *Body and Soul* poems. See for parallel passages, Appendix, p. 33.

¹ Ll. 6096 ff.; see further *Lamentacio Animarum*, in the same volume as *Be Domes Daegs*; *Minor Poems of V. MS.*, Vol. II, pp. 658 ff., 765 ff.; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 72 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. III, p. 542. Compare the *Christ of Cynewulf* (ed. Cook), ll. 1470 ff.; here the treatment of the theme is in monologue. Compare also the Latin dialogue treatment of the same in *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 416 ff. See for parallel passages, Appendix, pp. 35 ff.

in verse. Chester has departed far from the simple scheme of York, the most noticeable difference being that the saved and the damned souls become particular persons representing various classes and kinds of people, each person having put into his mouth a repentant speech revealing the particular vices of his class of society. For this development the play is largely indebted to the various satires on the classes of the times, and perhaps to *The Dance of Death* literature.¹ Coventry has departed from the simple York scheme mainly in the matter of the devils at the end of the play² becoming the accusers of the bad souls, recounting their sins and tormenting them. This may be due to the influence of the Towneley *Judgment*, in which this becomes the chief incident of the play, Tutivillus there becoming the dominant figure and taking the center of the stage most of the time. An old fragment of a poem in *Reliquiae Antiquae*³ shows that this conception of Tutivillus was current in the literature of the day.

It is in the Towneley *Judgment*, however, that we have the farthest departure from the simple structure of York,⁴ and it is in this play that we have the best example of how the plays sometimes drew largely on the other forms of literature of the day. Excepting ll. 434-531, which seem to be the germ-portion of the play,⁵ almost the entire play is made up of portions of verse gathered from various sources, echoing various independent forms and types, and withal blended together in a remarkably effective and dramatic fashion. The writer of this play and presumably of the Towneley *Noah*, *Herod the Great*, and the *Shepherd's Play*, I and II, was familiar with a very considerable portion of the great body of homiletic and satirical poetry of his times, and it is mainly due to his adaptation of it to his dramatic needs that the Corpus Christi play in England is brought to its highest literary development.

The opening lines of the play⁶ may be compared with passages in *The Pricke of Conscience* dealing with the same scene.⁷

¹ See Chambers, *The Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 153 (notes); Creizenach, Vol. I, p. 461.

² The play is incomplete at the end.

³ Vol. I, p. 257.

⁴ See the York *Judgment Day* text for parallel passages in *York* and *Town*.

⁵ See above, p. 12.

⁶ *Town.*, pp. 367 ff.; see also *York*, pp. 500 ff.; *Coventry*, p. 402.

⁷ Pp. 135 ff., 190 ff., 199; see also *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. II, p. 446.

Lines 143-51, 179-87, 282-86, 296-304, 332-67, 576-88 are alliterative lists of sinners who are to be found in hell, which have been current in Middle English homiletic verse from the *Moral Ode*¹ poems on. Lines 394 ff. are exceedingly similar to the lines in other poems which describe judgment day,² probably a rendering of the great "Dies irae," most familiar to us in modern times in Sir Walter Scott and Mozart. This passage is followed immediately by *Christ's Testament*.³ Almost all of the remaining portions of the Towneley *Judgment* are adaptations of satires on various subjects, mainly on women.⁴ While taken collectively, the English judgment-plays seem to be the adaptation of the Doomsday dialogue between Christ and the good and bad souls to dramatic purposes, Towneley is very largely homiletic in its tone, and but for the previous development of the Middle English sermons in prose and verse could never have taken on its present form.

This is scarcely the place to call attention to the relation of the drama to other forms of Middle English poetry whose character is not in some sense lyrical. It is going somewhat out of the way to notice, for example, the similarity between the grotesque meal of the shepherds in the Towneley *Shepherd's Play No. I*⁵ and the *Grotesque Receipts*,⁶ between the speech of Death in *The Slaughter of the Innocents*⁷ and *The Dance of Death* of Lydgate,

¹ *Anglia*, Vol. I, pp. 6 ff. (for other editions, see *A Middle English Reader*, ed. O. F. Emerson, p. 297). For other passages of the kind, see *York*, p. 340; *Cov.*, p. 404; *An Old Eng. Misc.*, pp. 64, 67, 76, 150 ff., 187, 212, 225; *Minor Poems of V. MS* (EETS), Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.; *Allenglische Sprachproben*, pp. 330 ff.; *The Poems of Dunbar* (Soc. T. Soc.), pp. 79, 81, 221; *The Poetical Works of Skelton* (Dyce), Vol. I, pp. 98, 149, 369; *Religious Songs* (Percy Soc., Vol. XI) pp. 80 ff.; *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. I, p. 99; *Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 92, 164 ff.; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 153; *Chaucerian and Other Poems* (Skeat), p. 172; *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXVI, pp. 387 ff. See also *Piers Plowman* (ed. Skeat) for many passages of the kind. See Appendix, p. 31, for parallel passages.

² See *The Pricke of Cons.*, pp. 71, 165; *Rich. Rolle of Hamp.*, Vol. I, p. 129; *Twenty-six Polit. and Other Poems*, pp. 118, 142. For the Latin form see *Hymni Latini* (Mone), Vol. I, pp. 402, 415; see further *Latin Hymns* (March), pp. 154 ff., 292 f. See Appendix for parallels.

³ See above, p. 12.

⁴ I hope to publish very shortly a paper on the subject of the influence of the satire of the day upon the Corpus Christi plays.

⁵ See also, *Chester*, Vol. I, pp. 119 ff.

⁶ *Anglia*, Vol. XVIII, p. 295; Vol. XXVI, p. 270; *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 51, 56, 81, 239, 250, 325; *Bann. MS*, Vol. II, pp. 388, 402 ff.; *Songs and Carols* (Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII), p. 23. See Appendix, p. 34, for parallel passages.

⁷ *The Coventry Mysteries*, pp. 84 ff.; cf. *Chester*, Vol. I, p. 186.

between the *Geography in Verse*¹ and the Hegge play of *The Temptation*;² between *The Fifteen Signs of Judgment* in the Chester play *Ezechiel* and the treatment of the same theme in non-dramatic verse;³ and, finally, between the various *Creeds*, *Pater Nosters*, *Ten Commandments*,⁴ and other themes of a somewhat similar nature, treated in the general poetry of the time and the drama as well.

Leaving out of consideration these last-mentioned forms, it is apparent even from the hasty consideration of the lyrical forms given above, and it will be still more apparent after the more careful consideration of that large body of non-dramatic and dramatic *Planctus Mariae*, and the still larger body of lyrical dialogue covering almost as completely as the lyrical plays themselves the field of biblical narrative, to what extent the plays are indebted to the antecedent and contemporaneous religious lyric of Middle English. It is hardly going too far when we say that about one-fourth of the great body of material found in the York and Towneley cycles is, in the broad sense of the word, lyrical. Chester and Hegge, though not indebted to the lyric so largely as are York and Towneley, are, when we consider them in their entirety, very considerably indebted. Sometimes, as has been suggested, the dramatic lyric contains merely an echo of the lyric proper; sometimes it follows it in thought and phrase more or less closely; sometimes it has been inserted bodily from without, retaining the phrase and rhyme of the original; and very occasionally the lyric may even have formed perhaps the starting-point of certain of the plays. Of course, it is open to anyone to believe that the original lyric portions of the liturgical drama came by a gradual process of development to their present form in the Corpus Christi plays. But it seems highly probable that in the great majority of cases, as the drama widened its scope, it drew again

¹ *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 271; see also *The Play of the Sacrament*, ll. 15 ff.; Manly, *Pre-Shaks. Drama*, Vol. I, p. 242.

² Pp. 210 ff.

³ See *Be Domes Daege and other Pieces* (EETS), pp. 91 ff.; *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 534 ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff.; Mätzner's *Altengl. Sprachproben*, pp. 121 ff.; *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Philologie*, Vol. V, pp. 194 ff.; Paul and Braune, Vol. XI, pp. 413 ff.; R. Peiper, "Zur Gesch. der mittellat. Dichtung," in *Arch. f. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. IX, pp. 117 ff.

⁴ See Appendix, p. 23, for parallel passages.

and again upon the vast field of the lyric, which was developing side by side with it, using the same themes as the drama, and treating these themes in a way not essentially different.

Whatever may be the specific relation of the particular lyrics to particular plays, it is fairly clear that we have here another example of the method of development of the drama as stated by Professor Manly in his explanation of the relation of the moralities to the Corpus Christi plays. "The moralities," he says, "are not to be regarded as growing out of the Corpus Christi plays, but are merely an instance of the theory that the dramatic instinct, once set going, tended to dramatize material already at hand in other provinces of literature."¹ So it is in regard to the lyrics. The drama has done with them what it has been doing ever since it took its rise in the liturgy. It has simply extended its province in such fashion as to include other contemporaneous forms of literature already existing side by side with it.

APPENDIX

DRAMA

Chester Plays, Vol. II, p. 127

Jacobus Major.

Come, Holye Ghoste, come creator,
Viscitte our thoughtes in this stowre;
Thou arte mans conqueroure;
And graunte us, Lorde, thy grace.

Johannes.

Thou that arte called counscelor,
And sende from heaven as Savvyour,
Well of life, leache of langor,
That prayen heare in this place.

Thomas.

Yea, that in seven monthes woulde
conseyle
Grace of thy ghoste aboute to deale,
As thou promised for mans heale,
Appaere nowe, since I praye.

LYRIC

Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Vol. II, p. 75

Veni, creator spiritus,
mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia,
quae tu creasti, pectora.

Qui paraclitus diceris
donum dei altissimi,
Fons vivus, ignis, charitas
et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septifomis munere,
dextrae tu digitus,
Tu rite promissum patris
sermone ditans guttura.

¹ For the larger application and fuller development of this theory see Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 577 ff.

DRAMA

Jacobus Minor.

Lighte our wittes with thy wayle;
 Put life in our thoughtes lele;
 Lixom thy frendes that bene frayle,
 With vertues lastinge (aye).

Phillipus.

Vanishe our enemyes farre awaie,
 And graunte us peace, Lorde, to our
 paie;
 For while thou arte our leader aye,
 We maye ashewe anye.

Bartholomes.

Through thy mighte knowe we may,
 The father of heaven full in good
 faye,
 And ye, his sonne, in south to saye,
 Thou arte in companye.

Mathieus.

Worshipped be thou ever and oo,
 The father and the sonne also;
 Let thy ghoste nowe from thee goe.
 And faith that we maie fynde.

Towneley Plays, pp. 316, 327, 328

Maria Iacobi. Alas! how stand I on
 my feete
when I thynk on his woundys wete!
 Ihesus, that was on luf so swete,
 And neuer dyd yll.
 Is dede and grafen under the grete,
 withoutten skyl.

Lucas. *When I thynk* on his passyon,
 And on his moder how she can swoyn,
 To dy nere am I bowne,
 ffor sorow I sagh hir make;
 Vnder the crosse when she fell downe,
 ffor hir son sake.

LYRIC

Accende lumen sensibus,
 insunde amorem cordibus,
 Infirma nostri corporis
 virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostem repellas longius
 pacemque dones protinus,
 Ductore sic te praevio
 vitemus omne noxium.

Da gaudiorum praemia,
 da gratiarum munera,
 Dissolve litis vincula,
 astringe pacis foedera.

Per te sciamus, da, patrem,
 noscamus atque filium,
 Et utriusque spiritum
 credamus omni tempore.

Horstmann's *Richard Rolle of
 Hampole*, Vol. I, p. 78

Of Ihesu mast lyst me speke,
 that al my bale may bete.
 Me thynk my hert may al to-breke,
 when I thynk on that swete.
 In lufe lacyd he hase my thought,
 that I sal neuer forgete:
 Ful dere me thynk he hase me boght,
 with blodi hende & fete.

Specimens of Lyric Poetry (Percy
 Society), Vol. IV, p. 83

When y thenke on Jesu blod,
 that ran down bi ys syde,
 From his herte down to his fot,
 For ous he spradde his herte blod.
 his wondes were so wyde.

DRAMA

Lucas. whereso I fare he is my mynde,
Bot when I thynk on hym so kynde,
 how sore gyltles that he was pyynde
 Apon a tre,
 Vnethes may I hold my mynde,
 So sore myslykys me.

Towneley Plays, pp. 114 f.

primus pastor. hayll, kyng I the
 call/
 hayll, most of myght!
 hayll, the worthyst of all!/hayll, duke!
 hayll, knyght!
 Of greatt and small/thou art lorde by
 right;
 hayll, perpetuall!/hayll, faryst wyght!
 here I offer!
 I pray the to take—
 If thou wold, for my sake,
 with this may thou lake,—
 This lytyll spruse cofer.

York Mystery Plays, p. 443.

Welcome! oure wytt and our wys-
 dome,
 Welcome! our joy all and somme,
 Welcome! redemptour omnium
 tyll hus hartely.

Anna. Welcome! blyssed Mary and
 madyn ay,
 Welcome! mooste meke in thyne
 array,
 Welcome! bright starne that shyneth
 bright as day,
 all for our blys.

Welcome! the blyssed beam so bryght,
 Welcome! the leym of all oure light,

LYRIC

When y thenke on Jhesu ded,
 min herte over-werpes,
 Mi soule is won so is the led
 for my fole werkes.
 Ful wo is that ilke mon,
 That Jhesu ded ne thenkes on,
 what he soffrede so sore!
 For my synnes y wil wete,
 Ant alle y wyle hem for-lete
 nou ant evermore.

Minor Poems of the Vernon MS,
 Vol. I, p. 24

Heil kyng, heil kniht,
 heil mon of most miht,
 Prince in thi Trone,
Heil Duyk, heil Emperour,
 Heil beo thou gouernour
 Of al this worldus wone.

Heil flesch, heil blod,
 heil mon of mylde mod,
 Heil beo thow kyng;
 Heil God ffeirest,
 Heil beo thou, bern best,
 Thow madeest alle thyng.

Christmas Carols, p. 4 (Percy Society,
 Vol. IV).

Wolcum yol, thu mery man, in wor-
 chepe of this holy day.

Wolcum be thu, hevene kyng,
 Wolcum, born in on morwenyng,
 Wolcum, for hom we xal syng,
 wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, Stefne and Jon,
 Wolcum, Innocentes everychon,

DRAMA

Welcome! that all pleasour hais
plight
to man and wyfe.

Welcome! thowe blyssed babb so free,
Welcome! oure welfayre wyelly,
And welcome all our seall, suthly,
to grete and small.

Babb, welcome to thy beydly boure,
Babb, welcome nowe for our soccoure,
And babb, welcome with all honour
here in this hall.

LYRIC

Wolcum, Thomas marter on,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, good newe yere,
Wolcum, twelthe day bothe in fere,
Wolcum, seyntes lef and dere,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye, Candyllmesse,
Wolcum be ye, qwyn of blys,
Wolcum bothe to more and lesse,
wolcum, yol.

Wolcum be ye that arn here,
Wolcum, alle, and mak good chere,
Wolcum, alle, another yere
wolcum, yol.

The Bannatyne MS., p. 255

Welcum, illustrat layde and oure
quene!

Welcum, oure lyone with the floure
delyce!

Welcum, oure thrifill with the Lorane
grene!

Welcum, oure rubent rois vpon the
ryce!

Welcum, oure jem and joyfull gene-
tryce!

Welcum, oure beill of Albion to beir!
Welcum, oure pleasand princes maist
of pryce!

God gif the grace agains this guid
new yeir.

York Mystery Plays, p. 487

Thom.

Farewele, thou schynyng schappe
that schyniste so schire,
Farewele, the belle of all bewtes to
bide here;
Farwele thou faire foode,
Farewele the keye of counsaile,
Farewele all this worldes wele,
Farewele, our hap and oure hele,
Farewele nowe, both gracious and
goode.

*Early English Ballads,
"Songs and Carols," p. 57*

Farwell, Crystmas fayer and fre;
Farwell, newers day with the;
Farwell the holy Epyphane;
And to Mary now syng we,
Revertere, revertere,
the quene of blysse and of beaute.

DRAMA

The Towneley Plays, p. 203

ffarwell! the frelyst that euer was
fed!
ffarwell! floure more fresh than
floure de lyce!
ffarwell! stersman to theym that ar
sted
In stormes, or in desese lyse!
Thi moder was madyn and wed;
ffarwell! pereles, most of pryce!
ffarwell! the luflyst that euer was
bred!
Thi moder is of héll emprise.

ffarwell! blissid both bloode and
bone!
ffarwell! the semelyst that euer was
seyn!
To the, ihesu, I make my mone;
ffarwell! comly, of cors so cleyn!
ffarwel! gracyouse gome! where so
thou gone;
fful mekill grace is to the geyn;
Thou leyne vs lyffying on thi lone,
Thou may vs mende more then we
weyn.

York Mystery Plays, p. 484 f.*Thom.*

To bide with thy barne in blisse to
be bidand!
Hayle! jentilest of Jesse in Jewes
generacion,
Haile! welthe of this worlde all
welthis is weldand,
Haile! hendest enhaunsed to high
habitacion.
Haile! derworth and dere is the diewe
dominacion.
Haile! floure fresshe florished, thi
frewte is full felesome.
Haile! sete of oure saveour and sege
of saluacion,
Haile! happy to helde to, thi helpe
is full helesome.

LYRIC

The Bannatyne MS., Vol. II, p. 645

Fair weill, my hairt, fair weill bayth
friend and fo,
Fair weill, the weill of sweitast medi-
cyne,
Fair weill, my lufe, bayth lyfe and
deth also;
Fair weill, blythnes, fairweill, sweit
lemmane myne,
Fair weill, the flour of colour gud
and fyne,
That fadis nocht for weddir wen nor
weit,
No moir than in the somer sessone
sweit.

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, p. 166

Hayle be thou godly graunter of
grace,
Hayle blessyd sterc on the see,
hayle be thow, cumforte in euery
case,
Hayle be thow, cheffe of chastyte,
Hayle well, hayle wytt of all mercye,
Hayle be thou highest in hevyns
blome,
Hayle, Jentyll lady, I pray the
ffunde preces ad filium!
Hayle be thou, virgyn of virgyns,
hayle blessed lady & hayle swete
may,
Hayle be thou moder of dere Ihesus,
Hayle cheff of chastite, so well thow
may,

DRAMA

Haile! pereles in plesaunce,
 Haile! precious and pure,
 Haile! salue that is sure,
 Haile! lettir of langure
 Haile! bote of oure bale in obey-
 esaunce.

York Mystery Plays, p. 445

Come myghtyest by see and by
 sandes,
 Come myrth by strete and by
 strandes
 on moolde.

Come halse me, the babb that is best
 born,
 Come halse me, the myrth of our
 morne,
 Come halse me, for elles I ame lorne
 for olde,

York Mystery Plays, p. 484

x Ang. Come chosen childe!
xi Ang. Come Marie milde!
xiii Ang. Come floure vnfiled!
viii Ang. Come vppe to the kyng
 to be crouned.

LYRIC

hayle blessid lady to thy son thow
 say,
 that we may cum to his kyngdome,
 for me and all crystyn thow pray,
 pro salute fidelium!
 Explicit.

Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchen-*
lied, p. 246 ff.

Veni, praecelfa domina,
 Maria, tu nos visita,
 Aegras mentes illumina
 per sacrae numina.

Veni, falvatrix faeculi,
 sordes auser piaculi,
 In visitando populum
 poenae tollas periculum.

Veni, regina gentium,
 dele flammās reatum,
 Rege quodcunque devium,
 da vitam innocentium.

Veni ut aegros visites,
 Maria, vires robores
 Virtute sacri impetus,
 ne fluctuetur animus.

Veni stella, lux marium,
 insunde pacis radium,
 Exultet cor in gaudium
 Iohannis ante dominum,

Veni, virga regaliū,
 reduc fluctus errantium
 Ad unitatem fidei,
 in qua flavantur caelici.

Veni, deposce spiritus
 sancti dona propensius,
 Ut dirigamur rectius
 in huius vitae actibus.

Veni, laudemus filium,
 laudemus sanctum spiritum,
 Laudemus patrem unicum,
 qui nobis dat auxilium.

DRAMA

York Mystery Plays, pp. 494 ff.

i *Ang.* Nowe maiden meke and
modir myne,
Itt was full mekill myrthe to the,
That I schulde ligge in wombe of
thine,
Thurgh gret yng of an aungell free.

ii *Ang.* The secounde joie modir
was syne,
With-outen payne whan thou bare
me.

iii *Angelus.* The thirde aftir my
bittir peyne,
Fro dede on lyve thou sawe me be.

iv *Ang.* The fourthe was when I
stied vppe right,
To heuene vnto my fadir dere,
My modir, when thou saugh that
sight,
To the it was a solas seere.

v *Ang.* This is the fifte, thou worthy
wight,
Of the jois this has no pere,
Nowe schall thou belde in blisse so
bright,
For euer and ay, I highte the her.

Towneley Plays, pp. 182 ff.

ffor I am old symeon :
So old on lyfe know I none,
That is mayde on flesh and bone,
In all medyll-erd.
No wonder if I go on held :
The feuyrs, the flyx, make me vnweld;
Myn armes, my lymmes, are stark for
eld,
And all gray is my berd.

LYRICO

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, p. 242 ff.

Mary for the loue of the,
blyth & glad may we be,
& I shall syng as ye may se :
sua quinque gaudia.

The fyrst Joy was sent to the,
Whan gabryell gretyd the,
& sayd: hayle mary in chastite
efficiaris grvida !

The second Joy was full god,
Whan cryst toke both fleashe & blod,
withowte syn talkyng of mode
enixa es puerpera.

The iijde Joy was of gret myght,
Whan Jhesu was on the rode dyght,
Dede & buried in all menys syght,
surrexit die tercia.

The iiijth Joy was withowt(e n) a y
Whan Jhesu to hell toke the way,
& with hym com gret a ray,
ad celi palacia.

The Vth Joy was on holy thursday.
vnto hevyn he toke the way,
god & man, & so he ys for ay.
ascendit super sidera.

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. II, p. 211

Al thus eld me for-dede,
Thus he toggith ute mi ted,
and drawith ham on rewe;
y ne mai no more of love done,
Mi pilkoc pisseth on mi schone,
uch schenlon me bischrewe.
Mine hed is hore and al for-fare,
I-hewid as a grei mare,
mi bodi wexit lewe.

When I bihold on mi schennen,

DRAMA

Myn ees are worn both marke and
blynd;

Myn and is short, I want wynd;
Thus has age dystroed my kynd,
And reft myghtis all;
Bot shortly mon I weynd away;
what tyme ne when, I can not say,
ffor it is gone full many a day
Syn dede began to call.

There is no wark that I may wyrk,
Bot oneths crall I to the kyrk;
Be I com home I am so irk
That farther may I noght;
Bot settys me downe, and grankys,
and gronys,
And lygys and restys my wery bonys,
And all nyght after grankys and
goonys,
On slepe tyll I be broght.

Manly, Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama, Vol. I, p. 152

Doune from heaven, from heaven so
hie,
Of angeles ther came a great com-
panie,
With mirthe and joy and great
solemnitye,
The(y) sange terly terlow,
So mereli the sheppards ther pipes
can blow.

Chester Plays, pp. 140 f.

Heale, kinge! borne in a maydens
bower,
Proffittes did tell Thou shouldest be
our succore,
Thus clarkes doth saye.

LYRIC

Min dimmith al for-dwynnen,
mi frendis waxith fewe.

Now I pirtle, I poste, I poute,
I snurpe, I snobbe, I sneipe on snoute,
throȝ kund I comble and kelde;
I lench, I len, on lyme I lasse,
I poke, I pomple, I palle, I passe,
as gallith gome I geld;

I rivele, I roxle, I rake, I rouwe,
I clyng, I cluche, I croke, I couwe,
thus he wol me aweld.
I grunt, I grone, I grenne, I gruche,
I nase, I neppe, I niffe, I nuche,
and al this wilneth eld.

I stunt, I stomere, I stomble as
sleddes,
I blind, I bleri, I bert in bedde,
such sond is me sent;
I spitte, I spatle in spech, I sporne,
I werne, I lutle, ther-for I murne,
thus is mi wel i-went.

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff.

Tyrlly tirlow, tirlly tirlow
so merily the shepardes be gan to
blow!
A bowt the felde they pypyd ryght,
So meryly the shepardes be gan to
blow,
A down from hevyn yat ys so hygh:
terly terlow!

Angellys ther cam A cumpany,
with mery songes And melody,
The shepardes Anon that gan A spye
terly terlow!

Anglia, Vol. XXVI, pp. 243 ff.

Can I not syng but Hoy!
Whan the Ioly shepard made so mych
Ioy!
(1) The shepard vpon a hill he satt,
he had on hym his tabard & his hat,

DRAMA

Loe, I bringe thee a bell:
I praie thee save me from hell,
So that I maye with thee dwell,
And serve thee for aye.

Secundus Pastor

Heale the, emperower of hell,
And of heaven allsoe!¹
The feynde shall thee fell,
That ever hath bene false.
Heale the, maker of the starre,
That stode us beforne;
Heale the, blessed full barne,
Loe, sonne, I bringe thee a flaggette,
Theirby heinges a sponne,
To eate thy pottage with all at nonne,
As I myselve full ofte tymes have
done,
With harte I praie thee to take.

Tercius Pastor

Heale, prince without anye peare,
That mankinde shall releeve!
Heale thee, froo unto Luciffier,
The which begyled Eve!
Heale the, granter of happe,
For in yeairth nowe thou dwelleste.
Loe, sonne, I bringe thee a cape,
For I have nothinge elles:
This gueifte, sonne, I bringe thee is
but small,
And though I come the hyndmoste of
all,
When thou shall them to thy blesse
call,
Good Lorde, yet thinke on me.

Trowle.

My dere, with dutye unto thee I me
dresse,
My state and felloshippe that I doe
not lose,
For to save me from all yle sicknes,
I offer unto thee a payer of my wifes
oulde hose,
For other dremes, my sonne,

¹ Read *also*.

LYRIC

hys tarbox, hys pype, and *hys flagat*,
hys name was called Ioly, Ioly Wat!
for he was a gud herdes boy, vt hoy!
for in hys pype he made so mych joy,
Can I not sing but hoy!

(2) The shepard upon a hill was layd,
Hys doge to hys gyrdyll was tayd,
He had not slept but a lytill brayd
but gloria in excelsis was a hym sayd
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he made so mych joy!
Can I not syng &c.

(3) The shepard on A hill He stode
Rownd a bowt hym his shepe they
yode,

he put hys hond vnder hys hode,
he saw a star as rede as blod.

Vt hoy!
for in hys pipe he made so myche joy,
Can I not syng &c.

(4) Now farwell mall & also will,
for my love go ye all styll,
vnto I cum a gayn you till,
And euermore(W)ill ryng well thy bell,
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he mad so mych Joy!
Can I not sing &c.

(5) *Now must I go yer cryst was borne*
farewell I cum a gayn to morn
Dog kepe well my shep fro ye corn!
& warn well warroke when I blow my
horn!

Vt hoy!
for in his pipe he mad so mych joy!
Can I not syng &c.

(6) Whan wat to bedlem cum was,
he swet, he had gone faster than a
pace,

He fownd Ihesu in a sympyll place,
be twen An ox & an asse,
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he mad so mych joy!
Can I not syng but hoy &c.

(7) The shepard sayd A non ryght:
I will go se yon farly syght,
Wher as ye Angell syngith on hight,

DRAMA

Have I non for to geve,
That is worth anye thinge at all,
But my good harte, while I live,
And my prayers tell death doe me call.

The Firste Boye.

Nowe, Lorde, for to geve thee have I
nothinge,
Nether goulde, silver, bruche, ner
ringe,
Nor no riche robes mete for a kinge,
That I have heare in store:
But that yt lackes a stoppell,
Take thee heare my well fayer bottill,
for it will houlde a good pottill,
In faith, I can geve thee no more.

The Secounde Boye.

Lorde, thou arte of this virgine borne,
In full poore araye sittinge on her
arme,
For to offer to thee I have no skorne,
Although thou be but a childe;
For jewell have I non to geve thee,
For to mantayne thy royall dignitie
But my hude, then take it thee,
As thou arte god and man.

The Thirde Boye.

O, noble childe of thee!
Alas! what have I for thee,
Save onely my pipe?
Elles trewlye nothinge,
Were I in the rockes or in,
I coulde make this pippe,
That all this woode shoulde ringe,
And quiver, as yt were.

The Fourth Boye.

Nowe, childe, although thou be comon
from God,
And be God thy selfe in thy manhoode,
Thou wylte for sweete meate loke,
Yet I knowe that in thy childehoode
To pull downe aples, peares, and
plumes,

¹at?

LYRIC

& the star yet shynyth so bryght!
vt hoy!

for in his pipe he made so mych Ioy,

Can I not syng but Hoy!

(8) *Ihesu I offer to the here my pype,
My (skyrte), my tarbox & my (scrype),
Home to my felowes now will I skype,
& also loke unto my shepe!*

vt hoy!

ffor in his pipe he made so mych Ioy,

can I not syng but Hoy!

(9) *Now farewell, myne owne herdes
man wat!*

ye for god, lady even so I hat!

Lull well Ihesu in thy lape,

*& farewell Ioseph wyth thy rownd
cape!*

vt hoy!

for in hys pype he mad so myche Ioy,

can I not syng &c.

(10) Now may I well both hope & syng,
ffor I haue bene a¹ crystes beryng,
home to my felowes now wyll I flyng,
Cryst of hevyn to his blis vs bryng!

vt hoy,

for in his pipe he mad so myche joy,
can I not syng &c.

DRAMA

Oulde Joseph shall not nede to hurte
 his thombes,
 Because thou hast not pleintie of
 crombes,
I geve thee heare my nutthocke.

Primus Pastor.

Nowe, fare well, mother and maye,
 For of synne naughte thou *wotteste*,¹
 Thou haste brought fourth this daie
 Godes sonne of mighteste moste.
 Wherefore men shall saye,
 Blessed in everye coste and place
 Be thou memoriall for me and for us
 all.
 And that we maie from syne fall,
 And stande ever in thy grace,
 Our Lorde God be with thee.

Towneley XXVI, *The Resurrection of
 the Lord*, ll. 314 f.

Behald my shankes and my knees,
 Myn armes and my thees;
 Behold we well, looke what thou sees,
 Bot sorow and pyne;
 Thus was I spylt, for thi gylt,
 And not for myne.

And yit more vnderstand thou shall;
 In stede of drynk thay gaf me gall,
 Asell thay manged it withall,
 The Iues fell;
 The payn I haue, tholyd I to saue
 Mans saull from hell.

Behold my body how Iues it dang
 with knottys of whypys and scorges
 strang;
 As stremes of well the bloode out
 sprang
 On euery syde;
 knottes where thay hyt, well may
 thou wytt,
 Maide woundys wyde.

¹Read *wast*.

LYRIC

The Poetical Works of Skelton
 (Dyce), pp. 144 f.

Beholde my shankes, behold my knees,
 Beholde my hed, armes, and thees,
 Beholde of me nothyng thou sees
 But sorowe and pyne;
 Thus was I spylt,
 Man, for thy gylte,
 And not for myne.

Behold my body, how Jewes it donge
 With knots of whipcord and scourges
 strong;
 As stremes of a well the blode out
 sprong
 On euery syde;
 The knottes were knyt,
 Ryght well made with wyt,
 They made woundes wyde.

Man, thou shalt now vnderstand,
 Of my head, both fote and hand,
 Are four c. and fyue thousand
 woundes and sixty;
 Fifty and vii
 Were tolde full euen
 Vpon my body.

DRAMA

And therfor thou shall vnderstand
In body, heed, feete, and hand,
ffour hundreth woundys and fyue
thowsand
here may thou se;
And therto neyn were delt full euen
ffor luf of the.

Behold on me nocht els is lefte,
And or that thou were fro me refte,
All these paynes wold I thole eft
And for the dy;
here may thou se that I luf the,
Man, faythfully.

Sen I for luf, man, boght the dere,
As thou thi self the sothe sees here,
I pray the hartely, with good chere,
luf me agane;
That it lyked me that I for the
tholyd all this payn.

If thou thy lyfe in syn haue led,
Mercy to ask be not adred;
The leste drope I for the bled
Myght clens the soyn,
All the syn the warld with in
If thou had done.

I was well wrother with Iudas
ffor that he wold not ask me no grace,
Then I was for his trespas
That he me sold;
I was redy to shew mercy,
Aske none he wold.
lo how I hold myn armes on brede,
The to saue ay redy mayde;
That I great luf ay to the had,
well may thou know!
Som luf agane I wold full fayn
Thou wold me shaw.

Bot luf nocht els aske I of the,
And that thou fownde fast syn to fle;
pyne the to lyf in charyte
Both nyght and day;
Then in my blys that neuer shall mys
Thou shall dwell ay.

LYRIC

Syth I for loue bought thé so dere,
As thou may se thy self here,
I pray thé with a ryght good chere
Loue me agayne,
That it lykes me
To suffre for thé
Now all this payne.

Man, vnderstand now thou shall.
In sted of drynke they gaue me gall,
And eysell mengled therwithall,
The Jewes fell;
These paynes on me
I suffred for thé
To bryng thé fro hell.

Now for thy lyfe thou hast mysled,
Mercy to aske be thou not adred;
The lest drop of blode that I for thé
bled

Myght clense thé soone
Of all the syn
The worlde within,
If thou haddeest doone.

I was more wrother with Judas,
For he wold no mercy aske,
Than I was for his trespas
Whan he me solde;
I was euer redy
To graunt hym mercy,
But he none wolde.

Lo, how I hold my armes abrode,
Thé to receyue redy isprode!
For the great loue that I to thé had
Well may thou knowe,
Some loue agayne
I wolde full fayne
Thou woldest to me shewe.

For loue I ask nothyng of thé
But stand fast in faythe, and syn
thou fle,
And payne to lyue in honeste
Both nyght and day;
And thou shalt have blys
That neuer shall mys
Withouten nay.

DRAMA

Towneley, XVIII, ll. 143 ff. *The Play of the Doctors*

"The thyrd bydys," where so ye go,
That ye shal halow the holy day;
ffrom bodely wark ye take youre rest;
yours household, looke the same
they do,

Both wyfe, chyld, seruande, and beest.
The fourt is then in weyll and wo
"Thi fader, thi moder, thou shall
honowre,

Not only with thi reuerence,
Bot in thare nede thou thaym socoure,
And kepe ay good obedyence."

The fyft bydys the "no man slo,
ne harme hym neuer in word ne
dede,
Ne suffre hym not to be in wo
If thou may help hym in his nede."

The sext bydys the "thi wyfe to take,
Bot none othere lawfully;
lust of lechery thou fle and fast for-
sake,
And drede ay god where so thou be."

The seuen bydys the "be no thefe
feyr,

Ne nothyng wyn with trechery;
Oker, ne symony, thou com not nere,
Bot consyence clere ay kepe truly."

The aght byddys the "be true in dede,
And fals wytnes looke thou none
bere;
looke thou not ly for freynd ne syb,
lest to thi saull that it do dere."

The neyn byddys the "not desyre
Thi neghburs wyfe ne his women,
Bot as holy kyrk wold it were,
Right so thi purpose sett it in."

The ten byddys the "for nothyng
Thi neghburs goodys yerne wrong-
wysly;
his house, his rent, ne his havyng,
And crysten fayth trow stedfastly."

LYRIC

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 49
Tertium Mandatum

Thy haliday kepe wele also,
Fra bodely werk thou take thy rest;
And all thy howshald the same sall do,
Bothe wyf and childe, servant and
beste.

Quartum Mandatum
Thy fadir and modir thou shalt hon-
our,
Noght onely with reverence,
Bot in thaire nede thou thaym socour,
And keep ay gode obediencie.

Quintum Mandatum
Of mankynde thou shalt none sle,
Ne harm with worde, wyll, nor dede;
Ne suffir non lorn ne lost to be
If thou wele may than help at nede.

Sextum Mandatum
Thy wyf thou may in tyme wele take,
Bot non other womman lawfully;
Lechory and synful lust thou fle and
forsake,
And drede ay God where so thou be.

Septimum Mandatum
Be thou no thef, nor theves fere,
Ne nothing wyn with trechery;
Okur ne symony cum thou not nere,
Bot conciens clere kepe ay trewely.

Octavum Mandatum
Thou shalt in worde be trewe also;
And fals wytnes thou shalt none bere;
Loke thou not lye for frende nor foo,
Lest thou thy saull full grately dere.

Nonum Mandatum
Thy neghbur wyf thou not desire,
Nor othir wymmen with syn covet,
Bot as haly kirk wald it were,
Right so thy purpos loke thou set.

Decimum Mandatum
Howe, ne land, ne othir thyng,
Thou shalt not covet wrangfully;
Bot kepe ay wele Goddes bidding,
And cristen fayth trow stedfastly.

DRAMA

Towneley Plays, p. 100, ll. 4-13

Now in hart, now in heyll/now in
weytt, now in blast,

Now in care,
Now in comforth agane,
Now is fayre, now is rane,
Now in hart full fane,
And after full sare.

Thus this World, as I say/farys on
ylk syde,
ffor after oure play/com sorows
vnryde;
ffor he that most may/When he
syttys in pryde,
When it comys on assay/is kesten
downe wyde.

Coventry Mysteries, p. 88*Angelus:*

In your name Maria ffyve letterys
we han,—
M. Mayde most mercyfulle and mek-
est in mende;
A. Averte of the anguysche that Adam
began;
R. Regina of regyon reyneng with-
owtyn ende;
I. Innocent be influens of Jesses
kende;
A. Advocat most autentyk your aute-
cer Anna,
Hefne and helle here kneys down
bende,
Whan this holy name of ȝow is seyd,
MARIA.

Towneley Plays, p. 351, ll. 316-19,
328-31,*Thomas:*

Mercy, ihesu, rew on me/my hande
is blody of thi blode!
Mercy, ihesu, for I se/thi myght that
I not vnderstode!
Mercy, ihesu, I pray the/that for all
synfull died on roode!
Mercy, ihesu, of mercy fre/for thi
goodnes that is so goode!

LYRIC

Herrigs Archiv, Vol. CIX, p. 42

That now is wet and now is dreye.
for sothe serteyn as I zu say.

now is joye and now is blys.
now is balle and butternesse,
now it is and now it nys:
thus pasyt this word a way.

Now I hope and now I synge,
now I dance and now I sprynge,
now I weyle and now I wrynge:
now is wel and now is way.

Now I hoppe and now I daunce,
now I prike and now I prauunce,
this day heyl, te morwe per chaunce
we mown be ded and ley in clay.

Herrig, Vol. CIX, p. 64

M and A and R and I!
syngyn I wyl a newe song.

It were fowre letterys of purposy:
M and A and R and I
tho wern letteris of mary
of hom al our joye sprong.

God that sit aboue the sky
with M and A and R and I,
saue now al this cumpany
and sende vs joye and blysse a in
mong!

Herrig, Vol. CVI, p. 60

Jhesu mercy how may this be
That god hymselfe for sole man-
kynd
wolde take on hym humanitie
my witt nor reson may hit well fynd
Jhesu mercy; abed: how may this be

DRAMA

Mercy, ihesu, lorde swete / for thi
 fyfe woundys so sare,
 Thou suffred through handys and
 feete /
 thi semely side a spere it share;
 Mercy, ihesu, lord, yit / for thi
 moder that the bare!
 Mercy, for the teres thou grett /
 when thou rasid lazare!

Manly, *Specimens*, p. 151

Song I

As I out rode this enderes *night*,
 Of thre ioli sheppardes I saw a *sight*,
 And all a-bowte there fold a *star*
shone bright;
 They sange terli terlow;
 So mereli the sheppards ther pipes
 can blow.

Song II

Lully, lulla, thou littell tine child,
 By by, lully, lullay, thow littell tyne
 child,
By by, lully, lullay!

Towneley Plays, p. 368, ll. 33-40

Brymly before vs be thai broght,
 oure dedys that shall dam vs bidene;
 That eyre has harde, or harte thoght,
 that mowthe has spokyn, or ee sene,
 That foote has gone or hande wroght,
 in any tyme that we may mene;
 full dere this day now bees it boght.
 alas! vnborne then had I bene!

Towneley Plays, p. 390

Ther is none so styf on stede,
 Ne none so prowde in preese,
 Ne none so dughy in his dede,
 Ne none so dere on deese,
 No kyng, no knyght, no Wight in wede,
 from dede haue maide hym seese,
 Ne flesh he was wonte to fede,
 It shall be Wormes mese.

LYRIC

Jhesu mercy how may this be.
 Crist that was of Infynyt myght
 Egall to the fathir In deite
 Immortal Inpassible the
 wordlis lyght
 and wolde so take mortalite
 Jhesu mercy *ut supra*

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. II, p. 76

This endurs *nyght* I see a *syght*,
 A *sterre schone bryght* as day,
 And everymeng a meden song
 was *By, by, lulley!*

This lovely lady sete and song,
 and tyll hur chyld con say,
 "My son, my lord, my fadur deyr,
 why lyns thou thus in hey?
 My none swete byrd, what art thu kyd
 and knowus thi lord of ey?
 Never the leasse I will not seese
 to syng, *By by, lulley!*"

Minor Poems, Ver. MS, p. 785, ll. 8-18

To ofte ich habbe, yn myne lyue,
 Ysenghed wit my wittes fyue,
 Wit eren yhered, wit eyen syght,
 Wit senfold speche dey & nyght,
 Wit cleppinges, wit kessenge also,
 Wit hondes yhandled, wit fet ygwo,
 Wit herte senfolliche ythoght;
 Wit al my body euele ywroght;
 And of al my (grete) folye,
 Mercy, lord, mercy, ich crye!

English Miscellany, p. 94

Nis non so riche, ne non so freo.
 that hē ne schal heonne. sone áway.
 Ne may hit neuer his waraunt beo.
 gold. ne seoluer. vouh. ne gray.
 Ne beo he no the swift. ne may he fleo
 ne weren his lif enne day.
 Thus in thes world as thu mayht seo.
 al so the schadewe that glyt away.

DRAMA

Towneley Plays, p. 371, ll. 143-47;
p. 373, ll. 183-87; p. 376, ll. 298-304;
p. 378, ll. 350-367

Of Wraggers and wrears / a bag full
of brefes,
Of carpars and cryars / of mychers
and thefes,
Of lurdans and lyars / that no man
lefys
Of flytars, of flyars / and renderars
of reffys;

Thise rolles
Ar of bakbytars,
And fals quest-dytars,
I had no help of writars
bot thise two dalles.

yt of thise kyrkchaterars / here are
a menee,
Of barganars and okerars / and lufars
of symonee,
Of runkers and rowners / god castys
thaym out, trulee,
ffrom his temple all sich mysdoers /
I cach thaym then to me
ffull soyn;
ffor writen I wote it is
In the gospell, withoutten mys,
Et eam fecistis
Speluncam latronum.

And ye Ianettys of the stewys / and
lychoures on lofte,
yours baill now brewys / avowtrees
full ofte,
yours gam now grewys / I shall you
set softe,
yours sorow enewes / com to my crofte
All ye;
All harlottys and horres,
And bawdys that procures,
To bryng thaym to lures,
Welcom to my see!

LYRIC

Religious Songs (Percy Society, Vol.
XI), p. 81.

Alle bac-biteres
wendet to helle,
Robberes and reveres,
and the mon-quelle;
Lechurs and horlinges
thider sculen wende,
And ther heo sculen wunien
evert buten ende.
Alle theos false chepmen,
the feond heom wule habbe,
Bachares and brueres,
for alle men heo gabbe;
Loghe heo holdet hore galun,
mid berme heo hine fulleth,
And ever of the purse
that selver heo tulleth,
Bothe heo maketh feble
heore bred and heore ale;
Habben heo that selver,
ne tellet heo never tale.

DRAMA

ye lurdans and lyars / mychers n ad
 thefes,
 fflytars and flyars / that all men repre-
 fes,
 Spolars, extorcyonars / Welcom, my
 lefes!
 ffals Iurars and usurars / to symony
 that cleveys,
 To tell;
 hasardars and dysars,
 ffals dedys forgars,
 Slanderars, bakbytars,
 All vnto hell.

Towneley Plays, p. 373, ll. 208-9;
 p. 374, ll. 211-21

Tutivillus:

Whi spir ye not, sir / no questyons?
 I am oone of youre ordir / and oone
 of youre sons;
 I stande at my tristur / when othere
 men shones.

I was youre chefe tollare,
 And sithen courte rollar,
 Now-am I master lollar,
 And of sich men I mell me.

I haue broght to youre hande / of
 saules, dar I say,
 Mo than ten thowsand / in an howre
 of a day;
 som at ayll-howse I fande / and som
 of ferray,
 som cursid, som bande / som yei, som
 nay;
 so many
 Thus broght I on blure,
 thus did I my cure.

Towneley Plays, pp. 390 ff.

Ilkon in sich aray / With dede thai
 shall be dight,
 And closid colde in clay / Wheder he
 be kyng or knyght;
ffor all his garmentes gay / that
semely were in sight,

LYRIC

Reliquiae Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 257

TUTIVILLUS

Tutivillus, the devyl of hell,
 He wryteth har names, sothe to tel,
 admissa extrahantes.
 Beit wer be at tome for ay,
 Than her to serve the devil to pay,
 sic vana famulantes.
 Thoe women that sitteth the church
 about,
 Thai beth al of the develis rowte,
 divina inpotentes.
 But thai be stil, he wil ham quell,
 With kene strokes draw hem to hell
 ad patientiam flentes.
 For his love that you der bogth,
 Hold you stil, and fangel nogth,
 sordem aperte deprecantes.
 The blis of heven than may ye wyn,
 God bryng us al to his in,
 Amen semper dicentes.

Herrigs Archiv, Vol. CIX, p. 45, xii;
 p. 46, xvi; and p. 44, vii, ll. 1-14

XII

Synful man for godis sake
I rede that thu amendes make!

thow thu be kyng of tour and town,
 thow thu be kyng and were coroun,

DRAMA

his flesh shall frete away / With many
a wofull wight.

Then wofully sich wightys
Shall gnawe thise gay knyghtys,
Thare lunges and thare lightys,
Thare harte shall frete in sonder;
Thise masters most of myghtys
Thus shall thai be broght vnder.

Vnder the erthe ye shall / thus care-
fully then cowche;
The roye of youre hall / youre nakyd
nose shall towche;
Nawther great ne small / To you will
knele ne crowche;
A shete shall be youre pall / sich
todys shall be youre nowche;
Todys shall you dere,
fleyndys will you fere,
youre flesh that fare was here
Thus rufully shall rote;
In stede of fare colore
sich bandys shall bynde youre
throthe.
.

Amende the, man, Whils thou may,
let neuer no myrthe fordo thi
mynde;
Thynke thou on the dredesfull day
When god shall deme all man-
kynde.
Thynke thou farys as dothe the
wynde;
This warlde is wast & and will away;
Man, haue this in thi mynde,
And amende the Whils that thou
may.

Amende the, man, whils thou art
here,
Agane thou go an othere gate;
When thou art dede and laide on
dere,
Wyt thou well thou bees to late;
ffor if all the goode that euer
thou gate

LYRIC

I sette ryzt not be thi renown,
but if thou wylt amendys make.

that hast her is other menyys
and so it xal ben quan thou art hens,
thi sowle xal a beye thi synnys,
but if thou wit a mendes make.
.

man bewar, the weye is alder;
thou xal slyde, thou wost not qweder;
body and sowle xul go to geder,
but if thou wit a mendes make.

man ber not thi hed to heye
In pumpe and pride and velonye;
In helle thou xalt ben hangyd hye,
but if thou wilt amendes make.

XVI

I drukke I dare so wil I may
quan I thynke on my endys day.

I am a chyld and born ful bare
and bar out this word xal fare,
syt am I but wermys ware
thow I clothis go neuer so gay.

Thow I be of meche prys,
fayr of face and holdyn wys,
my fleysch xul fadye as flour de lys
quan I am ded and leyd in clay.

quan I am ded and leyd in ston,
I xal rotyn fleych and bon,
fro myn fryndys I xal gon,
cryst help myn sowle quan I ne may!

Quan I xal al my frendes for sake,
cryst schyld me fro the fendes blake!
to Jesu cryst my sowle I be take,
to be our helpe on domys day!

VII

Gay, gay, gay, gay,
Think on drydful domis day!

DRAMA

Were delt for the after thi day,
In heuen it wolde not mende thi
state,
forthi amende the Whils thou may.

If thou be right ryall in rente,
As is the stede standyng in stall,
In thi harte knowe and thynke
That thai ar goddys goodys all.
he myght haue maide the poore and
small
As he that beggys fro day to day;
Wit thou well accountys gif thou
shall,
Therefore amende the whils thou may.

Towneley Plays, p. 107, ll. 213-39.

primus pastor.

Set mustard afore,
oure mete now begyns;

here a foote of a cowe / well sawsed,
I wene,
The pestell of a sowe / that powderd
has bene,
Two blodyingis, I trow / A leueryng
betwene;
Do gladly, syrs now / my breder be-
dene,
With more.
Both befe and moton
Of an ewe that was roton,
Good mete for a gloton;
Ete of this store.

¶us pastor.

I haue here in my mayll / sothen
and rost,
Euen of an ox tayll / that wold not be
lost;
ha, ha, goderhayll ! I let for no cost;
A good py or we fayll / this is good
for the frost
In a mornyng;
And two swyne gronys,
All a hare bot the lonys,

LYRIC

Euery day thou myzt lere
to help thi self qwyl thu art here.
quan thu art ded and leyd on bere,
cryst help thi sowle for thu ne may !

Think man on thy wyttes fyue,
do sum good qwyl thu art on lyve,
go to cherche and do the schryve
and bryng thi sowle in good aray !

Thynk man on thi synnys seuene,
think how merie it is in heuene,
prey to god with mylde stefne
he be thin helpe on domys day !

Rel. Antiquae, Vol. I, p. 325

BURLESQUE RECEIPT

Take nine pound of thunder, six legs
of a swan,
The wool of a frog,
The juice of a log,
Well parboil'd together in the skin of
a hog,
With the egg of a moon-calf, if get it
you can.
The love of false harlots,
The faith of false varlets,
With the truth of decoys, that walk
in their scarleta,
And the feathers of a lobster well
fry'd in a pan;
Nine drops of rain,
Brought hither from Spain,
With the blast of a bellows quite over
the main;
With eight quarts of brimston, brew'd
in a beer can;
Six pottles of lard,
Squeezed from a rock hard,
With nine turkey eggs, each as long
as a yard;
With a pudding of hail stones well
bak'd in a pan:
These med'cines are good,
And approved have stood,

DRAMA

we myster no sponys
here at oure mangyng.

tijus pastor.

here is to recorde / the leg of a goys,
with chekyns endorde / pork, partryk
to roys;

A tart for a lorde / how thynk ye this
doys ?

A calf lyuer skorde / with veryose;

Y., XLVIII, ll. 229-380

Deus.

Ilke a creature, takes entent,
What bodworde I to you bringe,
This wofull worlde away is wente,
And I am come as crouned kyng.
Mi fadir of heuene, he has me sente,
To deme youre dedis and make ending,
Comen is the day of jugement,
O sorowe may ilke a synfull synge.
The day is comen of kaydyfnes,
All tham to care that are vnclene,
The day of bale and bittirnes,
Full longe abedyn has it bene,
The day of drede to more and lesse,
Of care, of trymbelyng and of tene.
That ilke a wight that weried is
May say, alas! this daye is sene!

.....
Mi blissid childre on my right hande,
Youre dome this day ye thar not drede,
For all youre comforte is command,
Youre liffe in likyng schall ye lede.
Commes to the kyngdome ay lastand,
That you is dight for youre goode
dede,
Full blithe may ye be where ye
stande,
For mekill in heuene schall be youre
mede.
When I was hungry ye me fedde,
To slake my thirste youre harte was
free,
Whanne I was clothes ye me cledde,
Ye wolde no sorowe vppon me see.

LYRIC

Well tempered together with a pottle
of blood,
Squeezed from a grasshopper and the
nail of a swan.

Pr. of C., ll. 6096-6213.

And delyverd be until the devels
powere.

Ful wa sal synful men be that day,
And til helle pyne be put for ay,
And tharfor men may calle that day,
The grete day of delyveraunce,
The day of wreke and of vengeance,
The day of wrethe and of wrechednes,
The day of bale and of bittirnes,
The day of pleynyng and accusyng,
The day of answer and of strait rek-
kenyng,

The day of iugements and Iuwys,
The day of angre and of angwys,
The day of drede and of tremblyng,
The day of gretyng and goulyng,
The day of crying and of duleful dyn,
The day of sorow that never sal blyn,
The day of flaying and of afray,
The day of merrying and of myrknes,
That day that es last and that mast es,
The dai when Crist sal make ende of
alle;

Thus may nan discryve that day and
calle.

Our loved that alle thyng can se and
witt

At the dredeful day of dome sal sitt,
Als kyng and rightwyse domesman,
In dome to deme alle the world than,
Opon the setil of his magesté.
That day sal alle men byfor hym be,
Bathe gude and ille, mare and les;
Than sal noght be done but right-
wysnes.

DRAMA

In harde presse whan I was stedde,
Of my paynes ye hadde pitee,
Full seke whan I was brought in
bedde

Kyndely ye come to coumforte me.
Whanne I was wikke and werieste
Ye herbered me full hartefully,
Full gladde thanne were ye of youre
geste,

And pleyned my pouerte piteuously.
Be-lyue ye brought me of the beste
And made my bedde full esyly;
Therefore in heuene schall be youre
reste,

In ioie and blisse to be me by.

i. an. bona.

Whanne hadde we, lorde, that all has
wroght,

Meete and drinke the with to feede?
Sen we in erthe hadde neuere noght
But thurgh the grace of thy godhede.

ii. an. bona.

Whanne waste that we the clothes
brought,

Or visite the in any nede?
Or in thi sikenes we the sought,
Lorde, when did we the this dede?

Deus.

Mi blissid childir, I schall you saye,
What tyme this dede was to me done,
When any that nede hadde, nyght or
day,

Askid you helpe and hadde it sone.
Youre fre hartis saide them neuere
nay,

Erely ne late, mydday ne none,
But als ofte sithis as thei wolde praye,
Thame thurte but bide, and haue
ther bone.

Ye cursid caytifflis of Kaymes kynne,
That neuere me comforte in my care,
I and ye for euer will twynne,
In dole to dwelle for euermare;
Youre bittir bales shall neuer blynnne,

LYRIC

He sal deme al men of ilka degré,
Til ioi or payne that demed sal be,
And rightwyse domes man and suth-
fast

And gyf a fynal dome at the last.
Bot how he sal deme I sal shewe,
Als telles the godspelle of Mathewe;
Hys angels than, aftir his wille,
Sal first departe the gude fra the ille,
Als the hird the shepe dus fra the
gayte,

That falles to be putt til pastur strayt.
By the shepe understand we may
The gude men that sal be saved that
day.

By the gayte understand we may
The ille men, that than dampned sal
be.

The gude sal be sette on his right
hand,

And the ille on his lefte syde sal
stand;

Than sal our loverd say thus that tyde
Til tham that standes on his right
syde:

*Venite, benedicti patris mei,
possidete paratum nobis regnum
a constitucione mundi.*

He sal say than, "commes now til me,
My fadir blissed childer fre,
And weldes the kyngdom that til
yhow es dight
Fra first that the world was ordaynd
right."

For I hungerd and yhe me fedde,
I thrested and at drynk yhe me bedde;
Of herber grete nede I had,
Yhe herberd me with bert glad,
Naked I was, als yhe myght se,
Yhe gaf me clathes and clad me;
Seke I was and in ful wayke state,
Yhe wisit me, bathe arly and late;
In prisoun when I was halden stille,
Til me yhe come with ful gude wille.
Than sal the rightwys men that day,
Til our loverd answer thus and say;

DRAMA

That ye shall haue when ye come
thare.

Thus haue ye serued for youre synne,
For derffe dedis ye haue done are.

Whanne I had mistir of mete and
drynke,

Caytiffla, ye cacched me from youre
gate,

Whanne ye were sette as sirs on
benke,

I stode ther-oute, werie and wette,
Was none of yowe wolde on me thynke

Pyte to haue of my poure state;
Ther-fore till hell I schall ye synke,

Weele are ye worthy to go that gate.
Whanne I was seke and soriest,

Ye visitte me noght, for I was poure,
In prisoun faste whan I was feste,

Was none of you loked howe I fore.
Whenne I wiste neuere where for to

reste,
With dyntes ye draffe me fro your

dore,
Butte euer to pride thanne were ye

preste,
Mi flessch, my bloode ofte ye for-swore.

Clothles whanne I was ofte, and colde,
At nede of you yede I full naked,

House ne herborow, helpe ne holde,
Hadde I none of you, thof I quaked.

Mi mischeffe sawe ye many-folde,
Was none of you mysorowe slaked,

Butt euere for-soke me, yonge and
alde,

Therefore schall ye now be for-saked.

i. aia. mala.

Whan had thou, lorde that all thyng
has,

Hungir or thirste? sen thou god is,
Whan was thou in prisonne was,

Whan was thou naked or herberles?

ii. aia. mala.

Whan was it we sawe the seke, alas!
Whan kid we the this vnkyndinesse,

Werie or wette to late the passe,
When did we the this wikkidnesse?

LYRIC

'Loverd when saw we the hungry,
And to gyf the mete war we redy;

And when myght we the thresty se,
And gaf the drynk with hert fre;

When saw we the nede of herber have,
And to herber the vouched save;

When saw we the naked and we the
cled,

And when saw we the seke and in
prison sted,

And visited the with gude wille,
And comforted the, als was skille?

Our loverd sal than tham answer thus,
And say, als the godspelle shewes us:

'Suthly I say yhou, swa yhe wrought,
That ilka tyme when yhe did oght

Until ane of the lest that yhe myght
se

Of my brether, yhe did til me.'
Than sal our loverd til alle thas say,

That than on his lefte syde sal stand
that day,

And spek til tham with an austerne
chere,

Thir wordes that er hydus to here:
Discedite a me maledicti, in ignem

eternum, qui preparatus est diabolo
et angelis eius.

"yhe weryed wyghtes wende fra my
sight,

Until the endeles fire that es dight
Til the devel and til his aungels."

And than sal he say thus, als the
buke tels,

'I hungred and had defaute of mete,
and yhe wald noght gyfe me at ete;

I thrested, and of drynk had nede,
And yhe wald na drynk me bede;

I wanted herber, that I oft soght,
And alle that time yhe herberd me

noght;
Naked with-uten clathes I was,

And with-uten clathes yhe let me
pas;

Seke I was, and bedred lay,
And yhe visite me nouthur nyght ne

day;

